

# Utah Historical Quarterly

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January, April, July, October, 1943

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4

Father Escalante's Journal

1776-77

Newly Translated

with

Related Documents

and

Original Maps

Herbert S. Auerbach



Published January, April, July and October, by the Board of Control  
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## EDITOR'S NOTE

"Father Escalante's Journal" is the fourth of a historical series on Escalante by Mr. Auerbach. Three previous articles of an expository character, "Father Escalante's Map," "Father Escalante's Route" and "Father Escalante's Itinerary" appeared in Volume IX of the Utah Historical Quarterly, and serve ably to prepare the setting for this fourth article, and for the translation of the original journal in its entirety.

The first and only other known translation of Escalante's Journal, published in full, was that by the Very Reverend W. R. Harris, D.D., L.L.D., which was printed in 1909, by the Intermountain Catholic Press of Salt Lake City, Utah, as a part of a very useful volume entitled *The Catholic Church in Utah*.

Dean Harris' work has not only been long out of print, but the study of the Escalante Journal has needed some of the perspective and the clarification brought to it by Mr. Auerbach in this present series.

The rescuing of Father Escalante's own quaint language and style is clearly Mr. Auerbach's leading aim, in which he has had the advice and assistance of competent Spanish language authorities, versed in early Spanish usages.

Mr. Auerbach's translation is thus especially noteworthy for its fidelity, as a result of which it reflects much of the original color and atmosphere. A free translation, phrased or paraphrased in the language of the translator has advantages, but the more literal translation renders the work livelier and more picturesque, by dating it back to its own era, thus revealing more of the Journalist and the spirit of his time.

It seems to have been the custom of the early Spaniards to prepare several copies of important documents (for which scribes, particularly the monks in the monasteries of Mexico and other Spanish colonies, were employed), much as we would today make several copies by typewriting. Thus in addition to the manuscript copy of Escalante's Journal in the Newberry Library, Chicago, with which this translation has been compared, there are four other manuscript copies in existence: one at Seville, Spain; one in Mexico City, Mexico; one in the New York Public Library, New York City; and one in Paris. Just which of these, if any, is the original is not known.

The introductory material preceding the translation is important in setting the stage for Escalante's Journal of his extraordinary expedition. The related letters and manuscripts of Father Escalante, and of his collaborator, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, which were also unearthed and translated by Mr. Auerbach, appear herein for the first time in print, and serve to give background illumination and perspective for the journal.

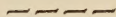
The numerous old maps herein reproduced, which Mr. Auerbach by his rare intuitive quest and his indefatigable effort, has uncovered, reclaimed and prepared for publication, forms one of the most important features ever carried in this Quarterly.

Other researchers have seen some of these maps, but passed them up as interesting though without possibilities; while Mr. Auerbach has made them yield their secrets through the alchemy of discernment, resourcefulness and hard work.

It was Mr. Auerbach's method to make enormous photographic enlargements of contact copies of each of the maps, on which a skilled retouch artist, working under Mr. Auerbach's closest direction and scrutiny, repaired and strengthened the lines, and restored much of the lettering to readability.

Words with a few or many letters missing have been laboriously identified and restored by reference to the context, to other maps, to related words and writings, and to mapping style and other means. Unfortunately, however, some words have disappeared beyond recall. But in the main, Mr. Auerbach has renewed the usefulness of these old prints, thereby performing an extraordinary task, for which students of the early West must forever be indebted to him.

—J. Cecil Alter, *Editor.*

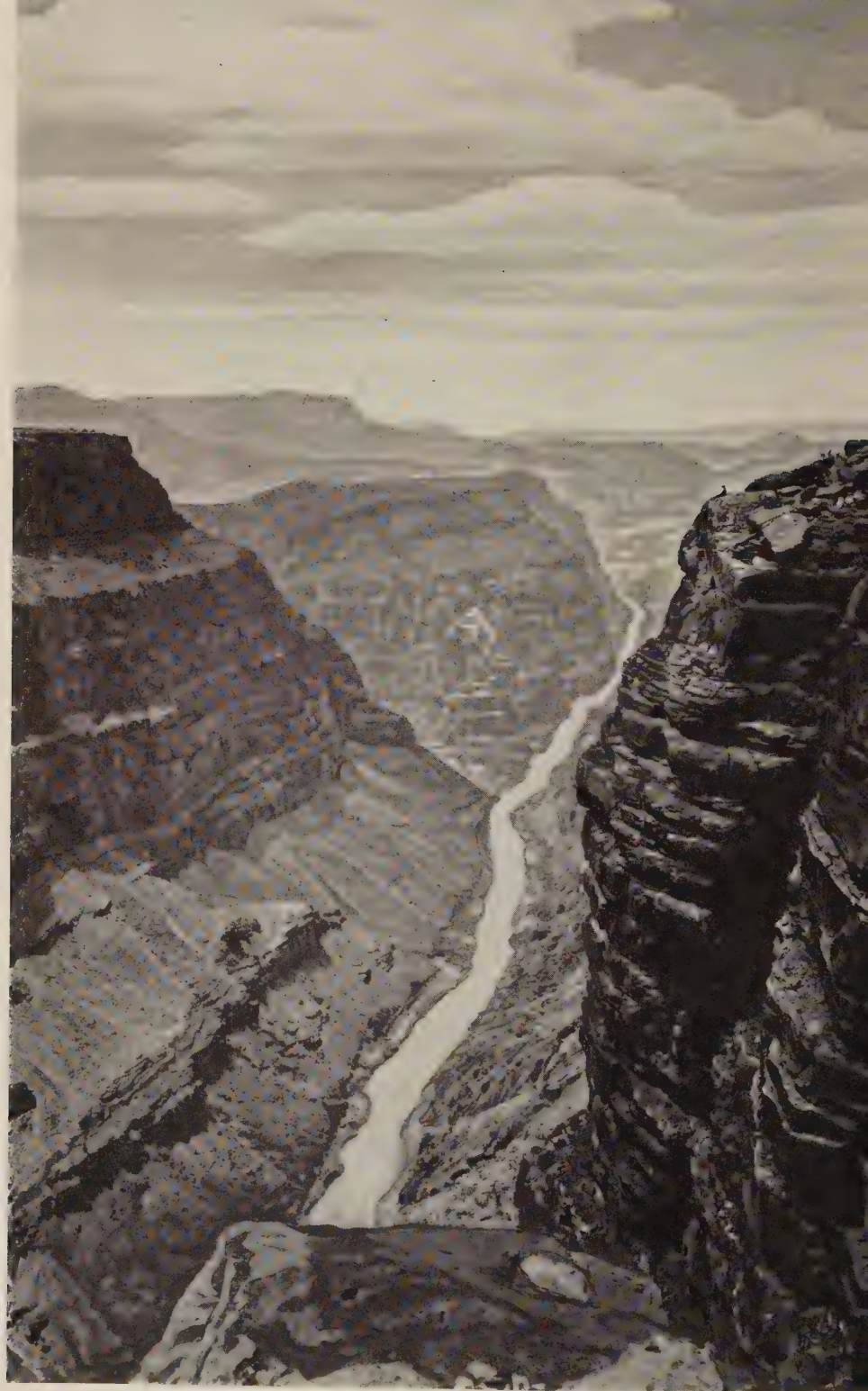


#### **Author's Acknowledgment:**

In preparing this Escalante article I wish to express my particular acknowledgment and thanks for valuable assistance rendered by: J. Cecil Alter, U. S. Weather Bureau, Cincinnati, Ohio; Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Stella M. Drumm, Librarian, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri; Ruth Lapham Butler, Custodian of the E. A. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago; Stanley Pargellis, Librarian, Newberry Library, Chicago; Silvester L. Vigilante, Chief of the American History Division, New York Public Library; Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts, New York Public Library. The valuable works of Drs. H. E. Bolton and F. W. Hodge have been consulted freely with due appreciation of their great worth.—*Herbert S. Auerbach.*







Chasm of the Colorado

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## FATHER ESCALANTE'S JOURNAL WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS AND MAPS\*

By HERBERT S. AUERBACH

### INTRODUCTORY

Following the discovery of America by Columbus, Pope Alexander VI (who was a Spaniard, born Rodrigo Borgia, at Xativa, near Valencia) in 1493 drew the "Demarcation Line."<sup>1</sup> On the basis of Columbus' discovery and this "Demarcation Line," the King of Spain claimed possession of all of North America. England, France and Russia, among other nations, however, refused to recognize the Spanish claims.

The Spanish Crown chose Mexico as its headquarters in the New World and from Mexico (or "New Spain" as the Spaniards named it) sent forth most of its parties for exploration, trade, colonization and missionary endeavor for generations to follow.

In 1527 Governor Narvaez, by virtue of a royal grant, with an armada of five ships and about six hundred soldiers set sail from Spain on an expedition to conquer and colonize the land from the Rio de las Palmas, on the east coast of Mexico, to Florida.

Encountering a hurricane off Cuba two of these ships were wrecked and some sixty men lost. The remnants of the fleet arrived on the west coast of Florida near the entrance to Tampa Bay, after some 260 men had deserted at Santo Domingo. With the remaining soldiers Narvaez sailed for Mexico, and after many storms and vicissitudes the remnants of his expedition were shipwrecked on Appalachee Bay, an arm of the Gulf of Mexico. Here they remained for some time, and from wreckage and material obtained

\*Many of these old Spanish maps have never before been published.

1. The Demarcation Line was established by Pope Alexander VI, May 4, 1493, by means of which he arbitrarily assigned to Spain all the lands she had discovered or might discover west of a line running from the North Pole to the South, distant 100 leagues west of any of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, (provided such lands had not been in the actual possession of any other Christian King or Prince, up to the preceding Christmas); and to Portugal on the same conditions all the territory she had discovered or might discover east of said line.

The Government of the (Spanish) peninsula held that the Pope had sole and absolute authority to dispose of all countries inhabited by heathen peoples; while this Papal Bull of Demarcation forbade all persons without special permit to go "for the purpose of trade or any other reason" to the islands and mainlands thus granted exclusively to Spain and Portugal.

On this document rested Spain's claim to the entire North American Continent. As the South American Continent was bisected by the Demarcation Line (which was only vaguely defined), no little controversy resulted from jurisdictional disputes, for these South American countries took the edict seriously. But most nations the world over disregarded the Demarcation Line from the beginning.—H.S.A.



along the shore they built five rude boats, each of which they loaded with nearly fifty men. Encountering another heavy storm off the mouth of the Mississippi River, three of these boats foundered and were lost. The boat in charge of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and one other boat were cast ashore on an island off the coast of Texas.

During the winter, sickness and hunger killed a number of the castaway Spaniards, until there were but fifteen of them remaining, and all of these were captured by the Indians, enslaved, and taken to the Texas mainland.

After some five years of slavery Cabeza de Vaca effected a meeting with three companions, Dorantes, Maldonado and Estevan, a blackamoor (negro), the slave of Dorantes, and they finally escaped from the Indians and set forth on a journey which was to extend over eight years (1528 to 1536) and to take them across the northern continent of America from the east coast almost to the west coast, where they came out through Culiacan, Mexico.

This journey was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable in American history, accompanied by sufferings, trials and tribulations unbelievable. Cabeza de Vaca and his party were the first white men to view the Mississippi River, to see and describe the great buffalo herds of the plains and to encounter and describe a number of the savage Indian tribes of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Northern Mexico. They found these Indians using powdered lead ore (galena) for face and body paint, wearing what Cabeza de Vaca described as turquoise and emeralds (probably malachite) for jewelry, and vaunting as a prized possession one small copper hawk bell.

This overland journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions stimulated interest in the development of the country north of Mexico and prompted Coronado to set forth on his celebrated expedition in 1540. Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain.

In 1539, at the instigation of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, Fray Marcos de Niza engaged Estevan, the blackamoor, to guide him to the seven golden cities of Cibola. Proceeding ahead of Fray Marcos and two other friars, Estevan with a company of Gila Indians arrived at Hawikuh, one of the "seven cities of Cibola," where Estevan and most of the Indians accompanying him were massacred by the Zuñi Indians. Fray Marcos viewed Hawikuh in the distance from a high mesa and he and some of his followers were able to save themselves, although the relatives of the Indians who had been massacred threatened the life of Fray Marcos. However, he succeeded in appeasing them and fled back to Culiacan.

Fray Marcos had heard many tales from Estevan and from the Indians regarding the "seven golden cities of Cibola" and other great riches and treasures in that section of the country, and as a result of Fray Marcos' repetition of these treasure stories, Coronado, then Governor of Nueva Galicia (present Mexican States of

Durango, Chihuahua and Coahuila), became Captain General of an army of some 300 Spaniards and 800 natives and proceeded on an expedition from Culiacan to subdue the Indian tribes and to plunder the treasures of the seven golden cities and other reputedly rich villages. These fabled "seven golden cities of Cibola" turned out to be a group of six poverty-stricken and mud-terraced pueblos of the Zuñi Indians, where the Spaniards found but little of value and none of the treasures or great riches they had expected.

Coronado, greatly disappointed, sent exploring parties in all directions, and at one of the pueblos in the upper Rio Grande valley of New Mexico, some of his soldiers found a captive Indian taken from one of the Plains Tribes. Because of his resemblance to a Turk the Spaniards nick-named him "El Turco" (the Turk). This Indian told them fabulous tales of a great and rich country lying to the eastward named Quivira.

He regaled them with amazing stories of a river two leagues wide (five and one-fourth miles), fish as big as a horse, large canoes with more than twenty oarsmen on each side, and a great chief who enjoyed his afternoon siestas under a big tree, from whose branches were suspended myriads of little golden bells which lulled the chief to sleep.

In the spring of 1541 Coronado, guided by "the Turk," set out to find the marvelous treasures of the Quivira country, traveling southeast through central Texas and thence northerly into Kansas, where the famed Quivira turned out to be but a commonplace village of the Wichita Indians, located near the Kansas River, northeast of the great bend of the Arkansas River. Coronado and his crestfallen army journeyed back to the villages on the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico, and thence returned to Mexico.

Subsequent to the expedition of Coronado the northern border of New Spain saw through the years more and more activity, as traders, miners, colonists and missionaries moved ever northward. Spain claimed that the borders of New Mexico stretched very far to the north; but these borders were vaguely defined and the distances and the areas were vast and practically unknown. From time to time small exploring parties, or companies, organized to punish hostile Indians for their raids on the pueblos, were sent toward the interior of New Mexico.

As early as 1590 the Spaniards founded Franciscan missions, presidios and villages in Texas. Five such missions were located near San Antonio.

In 1598 Don Juan de Oñate, with some 400 Spanish colonists, settled at the pueblo of San Juan, in New Mexico, some thirty miles northwest of the present city of Santa Fé. A few years later a Spanish settlement was made at Santa Fé.

By 1617 the Franciscan missionaries had built seven missions

in New Mexico. There is some question as to whether Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca passed through Arizona in 1535 or 1536. However, Marcos de Niza came near Zuñi in 1539, and in 1540 he guided Coronado through parts of Arizona and to Zuñi.

The Jesuits were the first to erect missions in Arizona. Early in the seventeenth century these Jesuits built missions among the Pima, Papago and Moqui Indians.

In the late 1600s and in the 1700s news kept coming to the Spaniards that the French and the English were encroaching upon their territory and that even the Russians were establishing settlements on the northwest coast of the North American continent. The Spaniards, jealous of their dominions and fearful lest these foreigners settle upon the lands of the King of Spain, began to send parties to explore and trade and settle in New Mexico (which embraced parts of today's New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming and Nevada), in order to make more secure their claims to this vast territory. This will explain to some degree the attitude of the Spaniards in later years toward the United States trappers and traders, whom they, of course, regarded as poachers or trespassers, and upon whom they looked with distrust and suspicion.

The Spaniards established presidios and missions in many places, and Santa Fé was made the central point for the activities of the Spanish government and of the Catholic Church in New Mexico. The development of New Mexico, as well as that of Old California (Lower California) and New California (Alta California), became of the utmost importance to the Spanish Crown.

Governor Tomás Veléz Cachupin was a favorite of the King of Spain and, by appointment of the King, he served as Governor of New Mexico from 1749 until 1754. In 1761 the King again appointed Cachupin as Governor and he ruled until 1778.

Governor Cachupin was greatly interested in searching for minerals and in opening mines, and he sent a number of expeditions on prospecting trips. He ordered Juan Maria de Rivera, among others, in 1765 to undertake a prospecting and trading expedition into the northern provinces of New Mexico, and this was apparently the first party to go from New Mexico into what is now the State of Colorado. Rivera led at least three expeditions into the San Juan and the Gunnison country, the last one probably having been undertaken in 1775.

Rivera and his party went to prospect for gold, silver and other metals and to trade for furs, and this journey required some three or four months. Rivera proceeded from Santa Fé to the San Juan region where he was reported to have found gold and silver along the San Juan River and its confluent. From here he passed over the southern branch of the La Plata mountains and reached the Dolores River and then followed along down the Uncompahgre River into the Gunnison River country.



Rivera's expedition had aroused a great interest in the regions visited by him, and following his 1761 expedition, Rivera made several later journeys, and various prospectors, fur traders, and adventurers from Santa Fé, Taos<sup>2</sup> and other settlements of the Rio Grande valley undertook expeditions into southern Colorado. However, we find but little mention of these trips, aside from occasional punitive expeditions which were sent to chastise the Indians, who frequently raided the New Mexico frontier settlements, robbing, killing, kidnapping and carrying the inhabitants into slavery.

Between the time of the Rivera expeditions and Escalante's journey, various parties made trips into the San Juan and Gunnison regions on fur trading and prospecting ventures, so that the government officials at Santa Fé may have possessed considerable knowledge of this territory. Stories of rich mineral deposits and of hidden and buried treasures were incentives for adventurers to undertake exploring expeditions into the interior mountains and canyons.

Manuel Mestes, in 1805, journeyed as far as the Timpanogos Valley, and in 1813 Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia led a party of seven men on a trading expedition into the Timpanogos Lake country.

Trading and prospecting expeditions were specially prohibited from visiting the Yuta provinces,<sup>3</sup> and expeditions were therefore clandestine, and the members, who generally remained in the Yuta country for several months collecting furs and articles manufactured by the Indians, were very secretive. Any information reaching the ears of government officials meant confiscation of the trader's goods and his imprisonment in the calabozo (calaboose). This would perhaps explain why there is so little documentary evidence available relating to these journeys into the Yuta country during the last half of the seventeen hundreds, and even during later years.

Don Joaquin Laín had accompanied Rivera on one of his earlier expeditions.

Pedro Mora, Gregorio Sandoval and Andrés Muñiz had been on a trading expedition into the Gunnison country with Rivera as late as 1775. Muñiz was a member of Escalante's party and as a result of his various trips under Rivera he was quite familiar with the country between Santa Fé and the Gunnison River. Don Joaquin Laín and Andrés Muñiz were of great value in guiding Escalante, at least as far as the Gunnison River.

The Russian encroachment by sealing expeditions along the

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2. Taos was the most northerly and perhaps the largest of the pueblos of the Rio Grande. In the early eighteen thirties it was the headquarters of and the gathering place for the trappers and traders of the Southwest.—H.S.A.

3. The law expressly forbade such expeditions, on the authority of the Papal Bull of Demarcation.—H.S.A.

Many Americans were arrested on trumped up charges of the sale of arms and powder to the Yutas.—H.S.A.

coasts of northern California, Washington and Oregon was probably the most impelling reason for the Spanish decision to settle the California coast. There were, of course, other reasons. One of these was the pressing necessity for having a harbor settlement in California, where the Spanish ships plying between the Philippine Islands and Mexico, carrying on a very important and lucrative trade, could break this long voyage and replenish their water and their food supplies.

The first California mission was that of San Diego de Alcalá which was founded on July 16, 1769. Governor Gaspar de Portola was in charge of the expedition and the mission was founded by Frays Serra, Vizcaino and Parron. This mission was located about seven miles from the center of the present city of San Diego. The second California mission was San Carlos Borromeo (Monterey), or Carmel, which was established on June 3, 1770, under the expedition led by Governor Gaspar de Portola. Fray Junipero Serra founded the mission. This mission is located some five miles from the present city of Monterey and is on the Big Sur road.

Mission San Antonio de Padua was founded on July 14, 1771, by Frays Serra, Pieras and Sitjar. This mission was located some six miles from Jolon in Monterey county.

The next mission founded was that of San Gabriel Arcangel on September 8, 1771, by Frays Somera and Cambon. This mission was located nine miles east of the heart of Los Angeles. The next mission founded was San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, established on September 1, 1772, by Frays Serra and Cavaller. It is in the present city of San Luis Obispo. The next mission founded was that of San Francisco de Assis (Dolores), on June 29, 1776, by Frays Palou and Cambon. This mission is located at Dolores and Sixteenth street in San Francisco. Following the establishment of the mission of San Francisco, the Franciscans between 1776 and 1823 founded fifteen additional missions along the coast of California.

Plans for an overland route from Santa Fé to these missions had received much consideration from the Governor and other officials of New Mexico, as well as from the heads of the Catholic Church, and as California missions became more numerous and important, the need for such an overland route became ever more pressing. Thus, in 1776, at the time when the armies of General Washington were battling those of General Howe in the War for Independence of the United States, Escalante and his party were exploring deep in the interior of the West, for the purpose of opening the communication route for mail and freight from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to Monterey and the new missions in Northern California, by way of the lands of the Yutas. Escalante's trip through Utah was made 71 years before the hardy Mormon pioneers, seeking a place where they might have religious freedom,







entered the valley of Great Salt Lake, where they founded their Zion.

At the time Escalante and his party left Santa Fé in 1776, Mexico, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona had been under the dominion of Spain for over two centuries, and while much exploring had been done in the region (which embraced a much greater area than these states do today) little was known regarding the lands to the north except a few places which were near their borders and easily accessible.

Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, a Franciscan Friar of great intelligence and unusual ability, had for several years studied and planned to set a route from Santa Fé to Monterey, by way of the higher latitudes, it being his idea in this way to avoid the vast difficulties of crossing that great chasm, the canyon of the Colorado, as well as the desert regions and the Colorado river itself below the canyon.

In addition to his desire to find a route by way of the higher latitudes, Escalante believed that the Yutas, through whose lands he must pass, were less warlike than the Apaches along the southern land route. The Apaches in the area adjoining the Gila River and the lower Colorado River had proved themselves very bold and warlike. They had attacked the Spaniards with great skill and cleverness, and had been successful in running off and stealing many of their horses and cattle, much of their equipment and provisions, and wounding and killing many of the Spaniards and their followers.<sup>4</sup>

A Spaniard by birth, Escalante came from Spain to New Mexico in 1768. He taught Christian doctrine in the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zuñi, New Mexico, and he was in charge of this mission.<sup>5</sup> He was a remarkable man in many ways. He had traveled extensively through and had resided in many parts of New Mexico and Arizona, and was, therefore, well acquainted with this region.

After presenting and urging his plans for several years to the Governor of New Mexico and to the Provincial Minister of the Franciscans, Escalante succeeded in persuading the Governor, in 1776, to sponsor and finance such an expedition, with Francisco Atanacio Dominguez heading the expedition, accompanied by Escalante and Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, a well-known surveyor and map maker, who was "to make a map of the land they might go through," along with seven other residents of Santa Fé.

Escalante had conceived the idea of the excursion and had

4. The greatest difficulty in subduing the Apache Indians was caused by their method of making sudden surprise attacks upon the Spaniards and then fleeing into the mountains, where the Spanish cavalry was unable to follow them. The Spaniards when on fighting expeditions, always rode horseback, and usually wore metal protective clothing, which was very heavy for the rider and the horse and therefore was a very great hindrance to them in trying to follow the lightly equipped and elusive Apaches.—H.S.A.

5. Prior to this he had been a missionary in the province of Sonora, and at Laguna, New Mexico.—H.S.A.

labored with the civil and church authorities for a considerable period of time until the expedition became a reality. He thus became the actual leader, although his superior, Dominguez, assumed nominal charge. Escalante's name, however, has been handed down through history because of his writings, while Dominguez is seldom mentioned, except as Escalante's associate.

Escalante had proposed to make the journey provided his superiors would give him at least twenty men; but having his heart set on this enterprise, and hoping also to convert and civilize large numbers of pagan Indians, he prepared to undertake this hazardous journey with Dominguez and only eight men, fully realizing the great dangers and difficulties such a journey with so few men might entail.\*

Although the party failed to reach and open a route to Monterey, as planned, the journey turned out to be one of the most important trips of exploration ever made into Colorado, Utah and Arizona, having far-reaching consequences so far as these states and the areas adjacent to them were concerned. It stimulated interest in that part of the country and enabled the Spaniards to strengthen their territorial claims to this important region. The trip involved a five months' journey, during which time Escalante traveled nearly two thousand miles.

Escalante was the first white man to see buffaloes near the Green River, Utah; the first one to view Utah's magnificent Mount Timpanogos; the first to view the beautiful Utah Valley and Utah Lake. He was the first white man to go among and describe many of the interior Indian tribes, and was the first white man to cross the great Colorado River, which he did at the difficult ford since known as the "Crossing of the Fathers," near the Utah-Arizona state line.

Two letters written by Escalante prior to his expedition to Utah Lake in 1776, and reproduced herein, reveal much that is not commonly known of his personality, activities and ambitions; the two documents by Miera presented herewith are especially important in identifying this competent, resourceful companion of Escalante on his memorable journey through Utah. To suit the chronology of their preparation, Escalante's letters precede his Journal, while the Miera papers follow it.

Escalante's letters show him to have been an unusual person, a man of learning, fearless, undaunted, determined, a keen observer and a man of zeal. His task was the spreading of the Holy Faith, the saving of heathen Indian souls and colonizing the Indians, as in the California missions. Escalante himself was patient, deliberate and sympathetic. He understood the simple Indians and knew how to win their goodwill and affection to the extent that they gladly gave him valuable information and endeavored to safeguard his life.

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\*During the journey two Indian guides were added to the party.



1776

Casa 78 altop. 4 N<sup>o</sup> 46 - Ufide Jelenkino i Kamno crde Nuevo Mexico. Mont.  
re.

Enveñado, y amadurivimo P. nueora  
hallandome en esta Villa de S. J. de  
orden del R. P. Virador, p.<sup>a</sup> tractar ci-  
ertos asuntos importantes a la Relig.  
y a la Corona, q.<sup>e</sup> no me detenga en ex-  
breax, porque dicho R. P. Virador, los  
particia a V.<sup>o</sup> en la q.<sup>e</sup> ahora le escri-  
be, me comunico el Sr. Governador de  
este Reino lo q.<sup>e</sup> el Excmo. S. Rey  
le escribió en 20 de marzo sobre la  
bueneser, que el mes de agosto del  
año pasado hizo, es a saber, q.<sup>e</sup> con 20  
hombrer habilitados se ve podría conve-  
nir el Arado de cubrim.<sup>to</sup> sobre que  
al brevente tratamos. Y para dar vu.<sup>a</sup>  
el dictamen, q.<sup>e</sup> su Excm.<sup>a</sup> le vide sobre el  
numero de gente, y auxilios, q.<sup>e</sup> verian ne-  
cesarios, para hacer esta tentativa con  
alguna probabilidad de conseguir el fin,  
conferencio con mi go el asunto; a mi vez,  
no porq.<sup>e</sup> en mi se conozca el talento neces-  
ario, q.<sup>e</sup> no hai, sino precisam.<sup>te</sup> porq.<sup>e</sup>  
sabe, q.<sup>e</sup> cada dia procuro, quanto me  
es posible, adquirir noticias conducentes.  
En virtud de las quales, respondi a su  
señ.<sup>a</sup> lo que sigue, y ya intinue al fin  
de mi informe.

" Monte-Rey, diria a esta Capital mais de



The letters indicate that this overland trip to Utah Lake had been on Escalante's mind for a considerable time and that he had carefully prepared himself for it by collecting all possible information from the Indians and from other sources regarding the country and the Indians between Santa Fé and Monterey, even to the extent of making exploratory trips himself, in order to acquire such information.

There can be little question that Escalante's main purpose in making the journey through the lands of the Yutas was to find a new route overland from Santa Fé to Monterey and to the missions of California, which were rapidly growing in number and in importance. It would appear that he had planned to make his trip going to Monterey by way of the lands of the Yutas, and to return from Monterey to Santa Fé by a more southerly route, journeying to the Moqui Indian villages which he had visited before. It is plain that he was not eager to pass through the villages of the warlike Cosninas and the Chirumas and the Tomasabas, because he was fearful of them, though he eventually did travel through their lands.

On April 2nd, 1778, Escalante was in Santa Fé from whence he sent to Fray Juan Agustín a very interesting report<sup>6</sup> prepared from documents in the archives of Santa Fé relating to the Pueblo Indian rebellion of 1680 and to the reconquest of the province by Vargas in 1692. Shortly afterward Escalante retired to the Franciscan College at Queretaro, Mexico. Thereafter I have been unable to find any trace of him.

Miera, assistant and map-maker on the expedition, presumed to write a letter to his Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty, the great King of Spain, after the completion of the trip. Although it is a humble letter, a beseeching one, such as a lowly servant of a grand monarch would no doubt be supposed to pen, yet it reveals Miera to us as an astute citizen, and a courageous, reckless soldier and adventurer, withal deeply religious and devoted to his King and his country. He had keen powers of observation, plus dash and vigor. He wrote a most intelligent, eloquent and convincing letter relating how he had served his King without reward in the past, but he prayed his Catholic Majesty for financial recognition, and sought glory in the King's service for himself and for his son, through the years to come.

He envisioned the vast territory to be gained and the villages to be conquered. The imaginative Miera was eager to build and to colonize a great empire in the wilderness, and he sensed with uncanny accuracy, even far back in those days of the 1700s, the great mineral wealth hidden, but waiting for Spanish exploitation, in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. He suggested the clever military strategy of trickery and siege, by means of which

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6. See excerpt from this letter on page 23, footnote 12.

the Indians could be conquered, subdued and made to work for the glory and wealth of Spain. His descriptions were clear, much more vivid than those of Escalante. Miera's letters thus give us a valuable "flash" of his life, and sketch most interestingly, but all too briefly, his association with Dominguez and Escalante on their famed expedition. His primitive and curious maps are well executed and of great interest and value, and for many years thereafter they appear to have been the basis of all maps that were issued relating to the Yuta country.



„ dades, segun la caixa, con<sup>te</sup> exhortacion,  
„ y mandaron a los Religiosos de esta Curia.  
„ dia, q<sup>e</sup> trabasaren quanto pudiesen en esta,  
„ jurgan, q<sup>e</sup> los vobos dichos Españoles, con  
„ los de Monte-Rey.

Esto es, Padre mío, con a la letra  
lo q<sup>e</sup> respondí al sr. Governador, y respon-  
go a V.<sup>ra</sup> p<sup>a</sup> que vea emexatamente q<sup>to</sup>  
trago, y digo en cumplim<sup>to</sup> de su or-  
den, y deo de la salvacion de las al-  
mas. En la inteligencia de q<sup>e</sup> vin em-  
bargo de tener por conveniente, y utili-  
simo el viaje, q<sup>e</sup> hoy principiarnos, y no  
sin expectancia de llegar a Monte-Rey,  
es v<sup>ra</sup>dad, q<sup>to</sup> en el dictamen arriba  
puesto copure: porq<sup>e</sup> aunq<sup>e</sup> digo, q<sup>e</sup>, con  
„ tan poca gente nunca me ha parecido ar-  
„ requible, esto lo entiendo de aquella ar-  
quibilidad tan probable, q<sup>e</sup> por ella pue-  
dan arresgarse gaitos del Real Cra-  
zio: lo que viem<sup>os</sup> debe emplearse  
en cosas menos dudosas; no porque  
yendo sin extrapito de armar q<sup>e</sup>  
regularm<sup>te</sup> sobrevultan a las nacio-  
nes, q<sup>e</sup> se encuentran en el transito,  
por lo q<sup>e</sup> o deben <sup>ex</sup>suficientes, o rinqu-  
„ nar) no haya yo concebido probable  
expectancia de q<sup>e</sup> Dios nos ha de faci-  
litar el transito hasta a donde con-  
venga a su honor, gloria, y cumpli-  
mientos de la voluntad, q<sup>e</sup> su ~~Alteza~~  
tiene de q<sup>e</sup> todos los hombres se



## ESCALANTE'S FIRST VISIT TO THE MOQUIS

*Brief of a letter [from Fray Silvestre Veléz de Escalante, written at the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi on April 30, 1776, addressed to Fray Isidro Murillo, Provincial Minister.*

This letter tells of a trip made by Escalante to the Indian villages in the region now composed of the states of Arizona and New Mexico, in the spring and early summer of 1775. On this trip he visited Gualpi, Oraybe, Nongopabi, Mossasnabi, Nipaolabi, and Aguatobi. In addition to these places he stopped at a number of smaller pueblos.

From the content of the letter it is apparent that Escalante made this trip with a desire to convert the Moquis and other Indians whom he visited. It is apparent that he also was interested in finding out the size of the villages, their locations, their water supplies, and how well they might be defended, if it should seem desirable for the Spaniards to conquer them.

Escalante states that he was planning to build a road to the Cosninas, so that he could announce the gospel to them and investigate the kind and number of tribes inhabiting both shores of the Rio Grande, and "finally to acquire some more exact information than we possess regarding the Spaniards who, they say, are on the other side of the Tizon River."<sup>7</sup> He took with him a guide and an interpreter and a party of Zuñi Indians to help protect the party from the Moquinos Indians.

7. Although Miera notes on his map (pp. 24-25) that the Tizon River was discovered by Oñate (1605) it had actually been seen and named much earlier. Coronado sent Hernando de Alarcón with two small ships to explore the upper reaches of the Gulf of California, supplementing a land expedition under Melchior Diaz, with a view to ascertaining whether the "seven cities of Cibola" could be reached from either direction. These expeditions were made in August and September 1540.

Alarcón ascended the Colorado River a distance of 85 leagues, according to his estimate, and named the river Buena Guía (Good Guide or Leader). On the way Alarcón learned from Indians that white men with beards similar to the Spaniards had visited or resided in a country at some distance from the river, to the westward.

Without contacting Diaz and his land party, Alarcón doubled back downstream, leaving letters for Diaz in a cache near the mouth of the Colorado, on his way back to Mexico.

Melchior Diaz, alcalde (mayor) of San Miguel de Culiacan, was an able leader and in some respects a remarkable man. He had been sent along with Juan de Salvidara by Mendoza, on Coronado's order, from San Hieronimo de los Corazones (Sonora) to conduct an exploratory expedition in the direction of Cibola, to verify the existence of that famed city and learn of its supposed riches, as reported by Friar Marcos.

Diaz did not reach Cibola but learned to his satisfaction that the riches of those seven cities had been greatly exaggerated. He then proceeded to an expected junction with Alarcón. Traveling in a general northwesterly direction across what is now Arizona, he finally arrived at a sizable village of Yuma or Cocopa Indians on the east bank of the Colorado river, somewhere below the Grand Canyon.

These Indians were comparative giants in size, possessed of much strength, and dwelling in spacious underground houses. During the cool autumn nights of Diaz' visit these Indians kept their bodies warm by carrying burning sticks of wood near them. Diaz therefore named the river Tizon (Firebrand River), unaware of Alarcón's "Buena Guía" appellation of a few days earlier.

The Indians told Diaz that Alarcón's boats had been seen about three days' travel down the river. Diaz then proceeded down the river bank until he found a marked tree, at the base of which were cached letters indicating that Alarcón had returned, as he came, to New Spain. Diaz thereupon retraced his way up the east bank of the river, and after traveling five or six days, found a suitable crossing.

After battling with some Indians found at that point, which was still well below the Grand Canyon, Diaz managed to ferry his party to the west bank by means of rafts made

On June 22, 1775, under the protection of the most Holy Virgin of Guadalupe, Mother of God and Our Lady, sponsored by Don Juan Pedro de Cisneros, alcalde (mayor), and accompanied by seventeen Indians of the Zuñi Mission and one from the Moquino tribe at Zandia, who went along as interpreter, Escalante started on his trip to Moqui.

The Indians told him that not far from a place called the "Fountain of Flowers" there was a large pine tree completely changed to stone.

He speaks of an almost uninterrupted ridge of mountains, with pine trees, nutpines, scrub oaks and some trees of the kind the Indians call red cedar; but according to Escalante, they were really not cedars. "It is an aromatic tree; the wood is a purple color."

At Gualpi the Indians who entertained his party expressed a desire to present some of their most solemn dances. However, as Escalante had heard that these were "idolatrous and hideous practices," and he did not care to view them, he told the Indians that he could not attend them on account of his illness.

In describing his sojourn at Oraybe he speaks of a friendly Oraybe Indian and says, "To divert and reward the Oraybe, I had some chocolate prepared. I gave him some chocolate soup, more than half a cup, which he took with great pleasure and a little anxiety. Since he was not used to drinking chocolate he felt rather uneasy."

In speaking of his stay in Gualpi, he says, in describing a visit with one of the Cosnina Indians there:

"I lit a cigar, drew a puff first and then handed it to him, that he might smoke also. We smoked the same cigar in turn and then another one. He soon forgot his perplexity and showed himself to be calm and cheerful. This is the way Yutas and Cosninas get rid of their mutual suspicions and show plainly that they love one another. In this manner he began to answer all my questions

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of driftwood and wicker baskets coated with bitumen for waterproofing. Shortly afterward Diaz threw his spear while riding and accidentally impaled himself on its point. From this injury he died some twenty days later, presumably in or near that encampment. The saddened party found its way back to Culiacan alone, making report to the authorities.

After piecing together the reports of both parties, Coronado immediately sent Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with twelve men to further explore the Rio del Tizon (Colorado). Securing guides from the Moqui pueblos, Cardenas crossed the deserts northwestward from Tusayan, finally halting in the late autumn of 1540, at a yawning abyss which could be nothing but the Grand Canyon itself, unquestionably above the mouth of the Little Colorado River, and possibly at the Marble Canyon section, if not still farther north. Indeed, some examiners of the narrative and the country find reason to believe the precipitous canyon he saw could have been the lower San Juan or the Colorado canyon just within what is now Utah.

Indians told them the river far beneath them was a half league in width (1.3 miles) though it appeared to be no more than a fathom (6 feet). The rimlands were reconnoitered several days in quest of a route from the rim to the river. Captain Melgoza, Juan Galeras and a soldier finally attempted the descent; but after many hours of strenuous effort, they returned to the rim, having gone down no more than one-third the distance. They were able to discern, however, that the stream was a very large one. Unable to find any better route to the river, Cardenas and his party set their faces homeward, leaving the spot quite as chimerical and the region quite as awe-inspiring as it remains to this day.—H.S.A.

(See Miera's map, page 24.)



through the interpreter. After we had talked for almost two hours he drew a rough but clear drawing of the road which leads from Oraybe to his land, marking turns, day's marches, and watering places, the extent of the land his people hold and occupy, the distance between the outlying farms and the Rio Grande, the route to follow and the neighboring tribes. He drew all that with charcoal on a war saddle."

After leaving Oraybe Escalante says he became sick.

In speaking of the Moquis, Escalante mentions masked men, whom they call "actors," and who are a counterpart of the "Huenhuenches," or ancient Mexicans. "The fearsome and death-like make-up of their false faces, and their totally indecent appearance when they ran in front of many people of both sexes, were very clear indications of the unclean spirit which possessed their hearts. The face was the only part of the body that was covered, . . . This horrible spectacle saddened me so, that I ordered departure set for the next day."

In describing the trip to Moqui, Escalante states, "Between the first pueblo of this small province and the last, which is Oraybe, there are only twenty and one-half leagues. There are today seven pueblos. The first three are on the tableland or rocky hill of Gualpi. Of these the first pueblo is inhabited by Teguas and Tanos. It includes about 110 families.

"The second pueblo is that of the Moquinos. It has about 15 families.

"The third pueblo is Gualpi. It has at least two hundred families.

"On two extensions of another tableland, west of the first one, there are three other pueblos. On the northern extension are Mossasnabi and Nipaloabi. Mossasnabi has fifty families. Nipaloabi has twelve families.

"On the southern extension the old town of Nongopabi has been rebuilt and contains about sixty families.

"On the west-northwest is the third tableland on which the town of Oraybe is located. It contains at least eight hundred families.

"All the pueblos have many sheep whose wool is usually black. They also have some cattle. Of these last there are many more in Oraybe. In this one there are also many horses. They plant corn, beans, peppers and cotton. From this last they weave very quaint clothing, and with the wool they make cloth for trading and for their own clothes. The fruits grown here are melons, watermelons and peaches. Pine nuts grow at a distance.

"The religion of the Moqui Indians of today is the same as it was before they had any knowledge of the Gospel. The God they worship is the sun. In addition to this one they have a countless multitude of idols which are nothing more than petrified logs

and painted logs. They feed, especially in Gualpi, certain vipers which become tame through handling. These they take out of warm places [stoves], for their most solemn dances, and with them they perform many heathen ceremonies."

After leaving Gualpi, Escalante speaks of stopping at a place called Aguatobi. On July 8th, 1775, Escalante returned to Zuñi. His carefully prepared report on this expedition is covered in the following document written six months later.



„ Deo leguar: no se vale porq' sumbo se pu  
 „ da transmitir la terna intermedia, pue' au  
 „ que hai algunas noticias del texado, q' ou  
 „ dan los Tuar haura el rio de Tizoh, y de  
 „ las Naciones, que estan a la otra vana  
 „ de este; no todas son creidier, porque re  
 „ tiene larga experiencia de q' no olo los  
 „ Indios infieles, mas aun los Chiricahua.  
 „ por loq' alguna mas evumacion, su  
 „ refieren loque valen demarnos sin vint  
 „ los embazase la falvedad de loq' cuentan  
 „ En quanto a la propuesta, q' hire a mi  
 „ Relatos, es a vobos, q' con lo hombrer  
 „ se podra conseguir el dicho desu bini  
 „ digo, q' esto lo expone, como intencie  
 „ q' adiveniquan, si de facto existien, y que  
 „ nev con los Chiricahua, q' dicen los  
 „ tar, y otros, estan a la otra vana del  
 „ rio de Tizoh, no e' llegar haura Monte  
 „ Rey, q' sin duda esda mucho mas au  
 „ tarde, y se ignora la calidad, y numero  
 „ de las Naciones intermedias. En orden  
 „ a Dr. Bernardo Mena, digo, q' en m  
 „ carta solo dije, a no haverme equivoca  
 „ do: que venia util entre los q' harian  
 „ lo no para comandar la Expedicion,  
 „ sino para construir un Uaga del tes  
 „ xado, q' se an muerre. Todo lo q' esto, dije  
 „ lo considero util. Yaunq' confiero, q' mi  
 „ carta, sin otro antecedente, indica exten  
 „ sive mi idea a poder llegar con los 2.  
 „ hombrer a Monte-Rey, digo, q' jamas  
 „ me ha parecido averiguable con tan po  
 „ ca gente: y que no explique con mas  
 „ claridad a mi Relatos, porq'us laton  
 salven. Este solo me permite de  
 la excares del tiempo, y la ocu  
 ciones tan precisas de este dia.

(Apreciare, q' P. tenga buena  
 salud, y q' Dios se la conserve  
 m. a. en su gracia. Sta. 25  
 y 26 de Julio 2.º 1776

F. Silvestre Veléz de Escalante  
 P. D. V. de V. R. da su mere  
 rudo. Fr. Vito, de V. R. de C. cal  
 re



ESCALANTE'S LETTERS TO FRAY FERNANDO ANTONIO GOMEZ, CUSTODIAN OF THE COLLEGE OF QUERETARO, AND TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE

October 28, 1775.

*Very Reverend and Beloved Father,*

*Fray Fernando Antonio Gomez.*—A short time after I wrote you concerning my visit to Moqui, your Excellency sent to the Governor of this kingdom the information you received from Sonora concerning a proposed expedition, and asked me to send him whatever information I might have and what I might consider useful for the successful accomplishment of the undertaking.

The Governor, judging by the fact of my visit to Moqui and my assiduity in the exploration of the lands and tribes bordering these provinces, that I might be able to furnish him with some useful information about what I had traversed and had seen, in that way giving him some knowledge less confused than what is generally known, sent me an order requesting me to inform him of whatever I had discovered and might consider useful for the success of our aims.

I complied with his order to the best of my ability. And should the Governor give me an answer, I am sending you a copy of my letter so that the Prelates and your Reverence may know what I did and what there is in the account.

[The letter is as follows:]

*My dear Sir:* Regarding the purpose of the new expedition to facilitate the most useful establishment of some new forts and missions in the neighborhood of the rivers Gila and Colorado, the passage by land to Monterey, the conversion of the Moquinos [Hopis], and the trading between these provinces with those of Sonora and California, you order me to inform you of what I know and consider useful in the matter. This is certainly worth the attention of our King and we must cooperate to the best of our ability, especially those who by reason of our Apostolic ministry, are concerned only with the salvation of the souls which are born in the darkness of heathendom and oppressed by the common enemy by means of the miserable slavery of sin.

For this reason, despite my slight knowledge of these lands, and my limited talent, I will say what I know and what I consider useful to communicate.

Beginning with what I saw in the province of Moqui, I consider it very fitting to acquaint you with it before suggesting any means for its conquest.

Having been especially entrusted by my Prelates, as you already know, to carry on the proposed exploration of the passage

by land to Monterey, at the end of last June I entered the province of Moqui, with the intention of reaching the Rio Grande de los Cosninas, which I believe to be the Colorado River, but being unable to accomplish this, I stopped in this province eight days exploring the location, defenses, herds, waters and provisions of its pueblos. Also their inclination to be converted, their character and the number of inhabitants. All this knowledge places me in a position to speak on the present occasion with first-hand information, if not with the precise clarity I could desire.

On the west, somewhat toward the northwest, twenty-six leagues from this town of Zuñi, there are the first three towns of the province of Moqui. Today this province, in an area of about two and a half leagues, includes seven pueblos, which, in an almost direct line from east to west, are located on three tablelands, or rocks. On the western end of the first tableland and on the narrowest point of its summit there are three; the first one is inhabited by the Tanos (whom they call Teguas there) who use a language different to the Moquino. It is a regulation pueblo with its square in the center and contains one hundred and ten families. This second pueblo is within a stone's throw of the first; it has only fifteen families because it is a new establishment which the Moquinos from Gualpi are building. This pueblo (the third) is within gun shot of the second and is larger than the other two, and may have about two hundred families. These three pueblos have a few horses, some cattle, and many sheep.

To the west of this tableland is the second tableland and between them there is a sandy plain extending about a league and a half, which enters it somewhat like a wedge and divides it into two branches.

On the northern one which is closer to Gualpi there are two low hills within a stone's throw of one another. On the summit of the first one is located the fourth pueblo of approximately fifty families, which is called Mossasnabi. On the second one is the fifth pueblo called Nipaolabi. It is almost in ruins because its inhabitants have migrated to the southern branch of the tableland, on which they have built the sixth pueblo called Nangopabi. This last pueblo enjoys a better location than all the others. It is divided into three sections, very well laid out and has about sixty families.

These three pueblos have more horses than the first ones and also many sheep. Two leagues and a half west of this tableland is the third tableland on which the seventh and last pueblo, called Oraybe, is located; it is well built and larger than all the others known in the interior provinces. It is divided into eleven squares or very large sections, with streets facing every wind, and may contain as many as eight hundred families. It has good horses, a great number of sheep and some cattle. Although it has only a small spring of good water more than a mile away toward the

north, it has on the same tableland nearby six large cisterns in which they receive much water when it snows and rains. This province is bordered on the east by the Navajos, on the west and northwest by the Cosninas, on the north by the Yutas, on the south by the Apache Gilenos and on the southwest by others called here Mescaleros, and in Moqui, Yochies and Fasabuest.

In this direction and on the west there are some wild cattle and stray horses of which the Indians from Oraybe, especially, make good use.

The Moquinos are very civilized; they are clever at weaving and at cultivating the land, harvesting abundant crops of corn, beans and peppers. They also grow cotton although not much. They lack tinder and kindling wood and good water.

All I have said helps to give an idea of what Moqui is and what should be done for the glory of God and the welfare of so many people and their early conversion to the Faith. To attain this end I am going to propose the only means I consider suited to the task.

Taking into consideration the fact that the Moquinos, although rebels, are properly subjects of our Sovereign, that for some time they submitted their stubborn necks to the mild yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in the many years since their uprising and apostasy the gentle exhortations of many friars from this Custody who have entered their land to preach have not been able to overcome their obstinacy, and finally that among them the renegade Christians find shelter and defense with serious injury to the Christian religion, it seems to me that the right means which can be and should be adopted is that by the armed might of the proposed expedition they be compelled by force to accept the authority of their legitimate sovereign. They must come down from their mountains to the open plains, and all necessary measures, considered essential to bind them to due obedience, be taken.

Once subdued and without any hope of returning to their stupid irreligion, I feel certain of their early and complete conversion, because the main obstacle by which devilish cunning has always thwarted the Christian zeal of those who have tried to bring them within the pale of the Church is the excessive fondness of their chiefs and captains for absolute mastery, usurping thereby the rights of both Majesties. For this reason, by terrible threats they prevent some of their people from seeking to be converted and even forbid anyone to talk alone with a Father, or to listen when he preaches, and reserve for themselves, privately, the right to listen and talk on religious subjects. The better to hide their ambition they show great interest in the vile freedom of their towns, presenting Christianity to them as necessarily related to an intolerable slavery.

Although almost all the Fathers who have entered that pro-



vince, as well as myself most recently, have noticed that there are many there who desire Holy Baptism, nevertheless the fear of incurring the anger of their respective chieftains, and the penalties imposed by them, compel the believers to repress, and quite often to hide, their holy desires. Therefore, it can be clearly seen that the chieftains definitely prevent the preaching of the Gospel. This obstacle removed by means of their submission, there would follow in a short time the awakening and the conversion of all by the preaching of the Religion, to which end the Fathers are dedicated.

As I have suggested before, it is not a special hatred for our Faith which keeps them from being converted, but the ambition of their superiors and the threatened enslavement by which the rest of them, assisted by false stories told by certain renegades, keep them greatly influenced.

Although the pueblos at first sight seem impregnable because of the almost inaccessible height of their location, since they have no supply of provisions over and above that surrounding them, the seizure and guarding of the watering places, which they draw on daily for themselves and their herds, will compel them to surrender without the least hardship for our men. Perhaps the quite unexpected sight of a troop such as the one we expect to form will be able to surprise them so much that they may surrender at once without any resistance as would probably have happened in the year '27 [1727] if we had proceeded with somewhat greater precaution. In that year a troop of men in the General Campaign went to Moqui with orders from His Excellency the Viceroy and the royal tribunal to suppress its inhabitants in the proposed way, and demanded one or two forts in the province, if these seemed necessary. The Moquinos knew of it prematurely, and with only this information all the chieftains, captains and elders came down to this town of Zuñi where they met the soldiers and prostrated themselves before the Fathers and the Commandant, and promised him whatever he desired, declaring that they were already as completely subjected as they were before their uprising. At this, the expedition went back, and the Indians showed their deceit, breaking the promises prompted by their fear of surrender which otherwise they considered unavoidable.

We can easily infer, therefore, that at the sight of our arms the defense of their cliffs does not satisfy them and they grow excited waiting for the attack; and that the presence of a troop now may succeed better than the remembrance of the other one in subduing them without mishap.

That is what I consider fitting to suggest, so that some opinion may not delay an undertaking of such importance, offering as a pretext that there are lions in the path where there are only traces of cunning and weak foxes.

And being certain that after the conquest of the Moquinos



has been attained, they will be able to subsist only under the shelter and protection of a fort, because without it they would attempt to revolt again, I consider the fort so necessary at Moqui that without it, it will be little less than impossible to establish and preserve the Christian religion there. Even without any other reason, this would be enough to build it without delay.

It is certain that in the mind of our Catholic Monarch the conversion of the souls is of the utmost value, and consequently that is also the aim of 1296 persons according to the census made (without exaggeration) in that province. Besides that, since this province is surrounded on the south and the southwest by the Apaches mentioned before, who live on this side of the Gila and harass us like the others, the fortress would serve to keep them on that side, and to break their pride in the sallies which they made from there in the company of the Moquinos, now pacified and subdued. Another result would be to make the passage between Sonora and this province less dangerous because the Apaches, seeing that not even by way of Moqui are they safe from our arms (if we succeed in punishing them now), will refrain from repeated hostilities. The second purpose, of no less importance, for which this new fortress is intended, is the subjugation of the Cosninas, because with it and the Moquinos being Christians, we would have easy passage to their land, without the least trouble, to preach them the Gospel which it is possible they will receive shortly, because they have always shown great friendship for the Spaniards and a certain inclination toward our Faith, also because of the annoyances the Tomosabas and Chirumas cause them by their attacks.

For all these reasons, for the last twenty years, they have requested several times that Spaniards come to settle in their land, to defend it against the said enemies, spurring them on by their abundant minerals of gold and silver, which appear without mining on their land, and promising to help them in the building of houses and with the planting. They also would build churches and take in friars to teach them, so that being baptized they would all live like brothers.

During the time when Don Francisco Marín del Valle was governor, they set out on their way to that town for this very purpose, but the devil frustrated this fine intention by causing four of them to lose their lives unjustly in the land of the Christians.

The Moquinos had inspired this calamity for motives derived only from their devilish policy. Probably they made use of this incident to dissuade them from their hinted purpose of being converted, and to prevent them from treating with the Spaniards, as they are doing today, because when I went to Moqui, as soon as the people knew of my arrival through one of their tribe, the captain of the settlement with all the men in it set out to see me and

talk to me; and approaching Oraybe, the Moquinos made them turn back telling them falsely that I had gone. In spite of this, they sent a lesser captain so that he might, if he succeeded in overtaking me, as he did, express their affection in the name of all.

From that we may infer that even today they hold the same feelings toward the Spaniards which they have had for a long time, and that they are in a very good disposition to submit to our Faith and to our Sovereign. That is all I can say in regard to the submission of Moqui. And now I am going to set down all the information in regard to the road between Sonora and these provinces that I have been able to gather.

By what I have learned of the General Campaign of the year '27 [1727], and by private information brought by the Zuñis in regard to Gila, I judge this road possible and practicable, because two days' march south of this town of Zuñi there is a little river, which in the said campaign, they named the San Francisco River. It is formed by two brooks, one of which flows from northeast to southwest, and the other from north to south. The latter is larger than the former and over its bed the Gila Ridge can easily be crossed. Together these brooks form the other San Francisco River which follows a north to south course through the canyon of the sierra, and at the exit of the canyon flows westward. After a short distance it enters a little valley which, because of its water, is very pleasant and fertile. In this valley there are several settlements of Apaches who cultivate it and by means of irrigation harvest much yellow corn.

Six leagues south of this little valley is the Gila River which from this place is sixteen leagues distant from a place called Mimbres.

I am acquainted with these facts through Don Bernardo Miera, an inhabitant of this town [Zuñi] who in that Campaign went as an engineer and a captain of militia. He went all the way from Mimbres to the Gila River, the San Francisco River, Salinas de Zuñi and the town of Acoma. Don Miera also says that on arriving at the said valleys and the San Francisco river, the Pimas, heathen auxiliaries, turned back, and that they were sure that on the other bank of the Gila river, toward the west, they would reach the Cañada Honda [Deep Valley] where they had their huts which are only a day and a half distant from the fortress of Ferrenate.

This story agrees with the information of the Zuñis who have gone as far as the Gila mountains. I will cite only the main information which seems to be most credible, resulting from a campaign which their lieutenant Alcalde Don Marcial Barrera made with them some years ago.

For greater exactness, as soon as I received the order from you, I wrote a letter to my present prelate vice-custodian, the Rev-







erend Father Fray Mariano Rodriguez de la Torre, who at that time was a minister in this town and knew the whole incident. He, without contradicting what the Zuñis had told me before, kindly wrote to me saying that in the year '52 [1752] the aforementioned Don Marcial Barrera with two other Spaniards and one hundred Zuñi Indians, after leaving the town of Zuñi in pursuit of some Apaches, and traveling three days to the south, found the settlement of Captain [Chief?] Chafalote, an Apache Gileno. He destroyed it and brought back a half-breed Christian Indian named Manuel Thomas who was a captive there. This Indian reported that when his master, Father Don Joaquin Rodriguez, chaplain of the fortress of Ferrenate, was going to confession, the people of the above mentioned settlement came out to meet him. After killing the Father and the escort he had with him, they captured him [the Indian] and, with his eyes bandaged, took him in only six days to the same place where they found him. The Zuñis add to this that they have heard the aforementioned Manuel Thomas say that near where the settlement was when they destroyed it, there is a little river and on its banks there are several Apaches who go nowhere nor do they own horses, but they have a great deal of yellow corn. This information seems to point to the above mentioned San Francisco River. From all of this it is seen that it is not a very long or difficult task to go by the proposed passage between Sonora and Pimeria Alta to New Mexico and Moqui. If we succeed in clearing this road of enemies and making it safe to travel, it will be very useful to the inhabitants of both banks.

In regard to the main purpose of the expedition which is the discovery of the passage by land to Monterey, I possess so little information that it is not worth your attention. Therefore, in order not to take up your time with details somewhat or altogether useless I omit them.

But referring to what Captain Don Francisco Antonio Crespo says, that is, that coming back from Monterey the expedition should go to Moqui, it has occurred to me that perhaps the expedition may think of crossing again the Colorado River near the Jalchedunes, and from here go to the Cosninas and to Moqui. That is very difficult because, if the account which the Cosninas gave to me in regard to that land is true, there are more than a hundred leagues of road impassible for a large retinue, because there is a lot of stone, most of it gravel and flint, and there is very little water and pasture; add to this that in order to reach the Cosninas by that road they must meet the Chirumas and Tomasabas, warlike and savagely inhuman tribes. That may hinder or at least defer their arrival at Moqui with great harm to our camp.

I make this remark so that if more certain facts do not disprove the information on which this is based, the leader of the expedition may have some knowledge of the inconveniences

pointed out, and may try to avoid them on his return from Monterey, going to Moqui by some other route considered safer and less troublesome.

I consider better and shorter the route which can be taken without coming down from the height of Monterey as far as the river to be crossed near the Yuta Payuchis who are near the Moqui on the north; these Indians may act as guides to travel in a straight line to this province. According to Vivas' maritime directory, printed in Manila in '66 [1766], the port of Monterey is in a latitude of 37 degrees and some minutes and, according to the newest map by Don Nicolas de Lafora, the town of Santa Fé is in a latitude of 36 degrees and 11 minutes, therefore, the Yuta Payuchis are, by my reckoning, in the same latitude as Monterey.

Led by this consideration I wrote to my Prelates that I thought the trip to Monterey easier through the land of the Yutas than through that of the Cosninas. The Prelates, thinking that the Spaniards of whom these two tribes, especially the Yutas, have given news, might, perhaps, be those of Monterey, ordered in a circular letter to all the Friars of this Custody, and to me lately, the investigation of this information which, I explained to the Prelates, cannot be made by some unfaithful Indians. Even supposing that these Spaniards are on the other bank of the large river which they call the Tizon River,<sup>8</sup> they would only find out whether they actually exist and who they are by arming an expedition of twenty men, well equipped and provisioned, to go as far as convenient, and paid the daily wages given to the soldiers of the fort.

In spite of my illness, I offered to accompany them in order to assist them spiritually and, at the same time, to write a journal with the greatest exactitude of which I am capable. For this I am ready whenever my services may be needed in the service of both Majesties.

This means I have considered and still consider sufficient for the proposed factual verification, but not to reach Monterey, which I consider very far from the Tizon River, and the kind and the number of the tribes in between are not known.

More than forty years ago we had the first news concerning the above mentioned Spaniards,<sup>9</sup> which can be found printed in the diary of the journey, through California, made by Father Fernando Consag<sup>10</sup> in the year '51 [1751]. Wherefore, the settlement of Monterey being much more recent, it is evident that the Spaniards seen on the other bank of the Tizon River cannot be from here.

8. Tizon River and white men. See page 11.

9. These may have been the "Bearded Yutas" mistaken for Spaniards.—H.S.A.

10. Fr. Fernando Consag, a Jesuit, in 1746 made a trip by boat to survey and explore the shores of the "Gulf or Sea of California," and then with his party went up the Colorado River in canoes for a short distance. Consag's map shows the Gila River, and it may be possible that he traveled up the Colorado River as far as the place where the Gila River enters it. (See Consag's Map.)—H.S.A.

Any information on which two tribes so dissimilar as the Californias and the Yutas are agreed for so long a time does not seem incredible to me, but I imagine that some shipwreck or other accident caused some Europeans to reach the coast of Monterey. Going inland, these people settled on the banks of the said river, and their descendants are those whom the Yutas and the rest, perhaps on account of their color and clothes, call Spaniards. This discovery would be very useful to the Religion and to the Crown, either to prevent any invasion of our kingdom if they are strangers, or to unite them with us if they are Spaniards as the Indians say.<sup>11</sup>

This is what my dullness can impart to you in fulfillment of your order, and my desire to sacrifice myself in the service of the Catholic Majesty of our King and the Supreme Council of the Inquisition of Our Great God, Whom I ask to preserve your important life for many years.

Mission of our Lady of Guadalupe de Zuñi, October 28, 1775.

Your most affectionate servant and chaplain respectfully kisses your hand.

FRAY SILVESTRE VELEZ DE ESCALANTE<sup>12</sup>

11. From 1769 into 1776 (and later) a number of the Indian tribes had related to the Fathers that they had seen white men in far away places. The Indians were able to communicate news with surprising rapidity and over long distances, and some of these stories no doubt referred to the Fathers (and the soldiers accompanying them) who founded San Diego, Monterey and other early Spanish missions.—H.S.A.

12. An excerpt from a lengthy letter written to Rev. Father Lector Fray Juan Agustín Morfi by Fray Sylvestre Vélez de Escalante, dated Santa Fé, New Mexico, April 2, 1778:

" . . . from the misunderstood stories of the heathen Indians, many [Spaniards] were persuaded that on the other side of the Colorado River, which with the Gila enters the Gulf of California, lived a nation similar to the Spanish, wearing long beards, armor, like our ancient kind, with breast plate, iron helmet and shoulder-piece; and these, no doubt, are the bearded Yutas of whom the Reverend Father Custodian [Dominguez] and I speak in the diary of the journey which we made through those lands in the year 1776; who live in rancherías and not in pueblos.\* They are very poor; they use no arms, other than their arrows and some lances of flint, nor have they any other breast-plate, helmet or shoulder-piece than what they brought out from the belly of their mothers."\*\*—H.S.A.

\*Emphasizing that they were roving tribes of Indians without permanent habitations in contrast to the sedentary tribes.

\*\*A translation of this letter was published in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, California, March-April 1900.—H.S.A.

TRANSLATION OF CERTAIN NOTES ON MIERA'S  
"BEARDED INDIAN" MAP



**A.** Miera evidently regarded the heavily bearded Indians (of the Valle Salado—Salt Valley—and Miera Lake country) as such outstanding curiosities that he sketched them on his map with their squaws and their rabbit nets. The two Indians are wearing shirts of almost knee length and their moccasins. They carry quivers, made of animal skin, which sheath their supply of arrows. One of the Indians is holding a rabbit in his hand. One of the squaws wears a skirt. In the background are shown trees and a net used for snaring hares and rabbits. The Indians used soapweed, sagebrush, or hemp dogbane bark, in the preparation of their rabbit nets, stripping the outer fibres from these plants, and twisting the fibres into cords and ropes. The rabbit net fences made of these cords were three or four feet high on willow posts, set to form a crescent-shaped enclosure, into which the rabbits were driven, trapped and slaughtered. Escalante (page 83) speaks of a large, well-made hemp net which the Indian said he used to catch hares and rabbits. The Indian told Escalante that these nets came from other Indians living on the south side of the Colorado River.

**B.** "They say there are many large tribes of Indians on the other side [of the lake], who live in organized communities. The Timpanogos Indians say that the tribes living on the west side of their lake, and on the high ridge of mountains which is seen in that direction from their huts . . . were formerly their friends, and that they make the tips of their arrows, lances and macanas\* [curved war clubs] of a yellow metal\*\*, in accordance with ancient traditions."

\*The Indians had tomahawks and war clubs of various kinds. One of the most important and favorite macana, or war club, is cut out of a bent limb of hardwood. This macana is curved in shape similar to a letter J, and measures about one and one-half feet in length, one to two inches in width, and about one-half inch in thickness, with a sharp edge, usually of wood or flint, but, as noted, here, also of copper. It looks something like a boomerang and is thrown somewhat in the manner of a boomerang, but it does not return to the thrower. It sails swiftly through the air and strikes the target with its sharp edge. The Indians became very adept in its use and often cut a squirrel, rabbit or rattlesnake in half with it.—H.S.A.

\*\*It is very interesting that the Indians on the other side of the lake were using copper at this early date. They evidently were able to fashion it into parts of implements of war. Did they have some method of hardening it? They probably found the copper in the present Bingham district, or in other places in Utah or in Nevada.—H.S.A.





Miera's "Bearded Indian" Map, 1779, of Escalante's Route.



C. Miera notes on his map that a river (which he depicts as flowing westerly from Great Salt Lake) "must be the Tizon River, previously discovered by the Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate\*, which he could not cross on account of its great width and depth. It can be navigated." The river referred to by Oñate as the Tizon River was the Colorado River. (See footnote p. 11-12).

Miera evidently thought from information given him by the Indians that the upper reaches of the great Tizon River had their origin in the lands of the Yutas. As a matter of fact the river which Escalante and Miera name the San Buenaventura was the river we now call the Green River, which constitutes the upper part of the Colorado River.

According to Miera's map he was informed by the Indians or was led to believe that the great Tizon River had its source in Great Salt Lake and flowed westward.

Escalante and Miera were both familiar with the narrative of Coronado's expeditions, and Escalante mentions Posada's (see page 57) narrative relating to the Tizon River.

D. "The Comanche region reaches as far as here. Preventing their expansion are the very abundant rivers and the lakes on the east, north and northeast of their habitations."

E. "This range of mountains is the backbone of this North America, because its waters, which flow in many of its rivers, empty into the two seas: the South Sea and the Mexican Gulf. In the latter, cranes breed."

F. "This Comanche nation a few years ago was first credited to the Yutas. They say that it left by the northern border, breaking through several nations, and other Yutas brought them to do bartering with the Spaniards, and they brought a multitude of dogs, loaded with their hides and tents; they acquired horses and weapons and they have had so much practice in the management of horses and arms that they excel all the other tribes in skill and courage, and they have become lords and masters of all the lands of the Zibolos [buffalos] conquering them from the Apache tribe, which was the most numerous known in America. They have destroyed many tribes, and those still remaining they have pushed to the frontiers of our Majesty's provinces. For that reason they have suffered so many losses that, lacking their main means of support, necessity compels them to maintain themselves by means of horses and mules."

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\*Don Juan de Oñate in 1598 founded a village where the Rio Chama enters the Rio Grande, which he named San Gabriel de los Espanoles, and where today Chamita is located. About 1605 the village was moved 30 miles to the southeast, where a deserted Indian pueblo stood, and renamed Santa Fé. (Villa Real de Santa Fé de San Francisco.) Santa Fé was designated as the headquarters for the government of New Mexico and it is now classed as the second oldest city in the United States. Oñate became a Provincial Governor and he was very highly regarded and was ranked among the great Spanish leaders, explorers and colonizers.—H.S.A.



G. "Geographical Plan of the newly discovered lands to the north, northwest, and west directions of New Mexico, surveyed by me, Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, who came to explore the land in the company of the Reverend Fathers Fray Francisco Atanacio Dominguez and Fray Silvestre Vélez, according to the Journal and Itinerary which was written and sent to his Majesty through his Viceroy, with an exact map, dedicated to Senor Don Teodoro de la Crois\*, of the renowned Teutonic Order, appointed General Commander-in-Chief of the troops and of the provinces of North America, by His Majesty; made in the encampment of San Philipe of Chiguagua in the year 1779."

H. Fray Silvestre Vélez (omitting "de Escalante"). Vélez was Escalante's proper name; "de Escalante" (of Escalante) designated the town from which his father came.

K. On the map, Miera has placed the key to his code of symbols. This key is reproduced below. The following list is the translation, in the order Miera has given them, of his explanations of the symbols:

### Notes

Towns

Settlements of Christian Indians

Settlements and towns of Spaniards

Towns of Spaniards ruined by the enemies

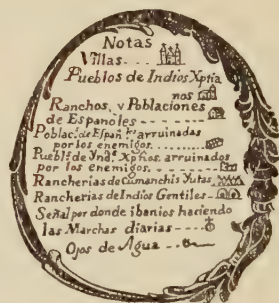
Towns of Christian Indians ruined by the enemies

Settlements of Comanche Yutas

Settlements of pagan Indians

Signs to show how far we went on our daily marches

Springs of water



\*In 1776 the northern provinces of Nueva Viscaya, Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, Sinaloa, and Sonora and Old (Lower) and New (Upper) California were, by royal decree, organized as the Internal or Interior Provinces of Mexico and placed under the government of a governor and commander general, who was responsible only to the King of Spain. The Viceroy of New Spain had no jurisdiction over the commander general, who was, in fact, himself a Viceroy. General Teodoro de Crois (I), came from Spain to Mexico in 1776 to assume this important office of commander general, and continued as such until 1782.—H.S.A.







View of Mt. Timpanogos

## FATHER ESCALANTE'S JOURNAL

"Journal and itinerary of the Reverend Fathers Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante concerning the discovery of the route from Presidio de Santa Fé del Nuevo-México to Monterey, in Northern California." Translation from the Spanish prepared by Herbert S. Auerbach from the original published volume, "*Documentos para la Historia de México*" (Vol. 1 of Series 2), Mexico City, 1854. "Diario y derrotero de los R. R. P. P. Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y Fr. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, para descubrir el camino desde el Presidio de Santa Fé del Nuevo-México, al de Monterey, en la California Septentrional."

[Random excerpts were spot checked and found to be in general agreement with a manuscript copy of the diary of Fr. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in the possession of the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago which was acquired from the Ramirez Collection of manuscripts. This manuscript, the letters and maps of Escalante and Miera published herewith, were made available to Mr. Auerbach, and the greatest cooperation extended, by Ruth Lapham Butler, Custodian, the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, and Librarian Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.]

### JOURNAL AND ITINERARY

On July 29, 1776, under the protection of Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, conceived without original sin, and the most holy patriarch Joseph, her saintly spouse: we, Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, actual visiting deputy of this settlement of the Conversión de San Pablo del Nuevo-México, and Fray Francisco Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, accompanied voluntarily by Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, mayor of this town of Zuñi, Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, captain of the militia, retired, and living in the town of Santa Fé, Don Joaquín Laín, inhabitant of the same town, Lorenzo Olivares of El Paso, Lucrecio Muñiz, Andrés Muñiz, Juan de Aguilar and Simon Lucero, after having asked for the protection of our most blessed guardian saints and received the Holy Sacrament, started from the town of Santa Fé, capital of this kingdom of Nuevo-México, and after marching for nine hours, arrived at the town of Santa Clara where we spent the night. Today we traveled nine leagues. [Spanish league 2.63 miles.]<sup>14</sup>

July 30. We marched again nine leagues, more or less, and

14. Escalante does not tell us in what manner he figured the distance in leagues he traveled each day. It is probable, therefore, that he had no mechanical measuring device, but that from his experiences in travel during a period of many years over roads which had been measured he estimated each day the number of leagues traveled by his party. This is obviously at best but a haphazard method and would account for the fact that in tracing Escalante's journey it is difficult to understand the long distances traveled by him on certain days. His latitude observations would be but a rough check. (It has been claimed that a man on horseback along level country could travel as much as twenty or twenty-five leagues a day.)—H.S.A.

we arrived at the town of Santa Rosa de Abiquiú, where owing to several incidents we stayed on July 31 without traveling. And in a Solemn Mass we again implored the protection of our patron saints.

**August 1.** After celebrating Mass we started from Santa Rosa de Abiquiú, going west along the bed of the Chama River, and after marching in this direction for a little less than two leagues we changed our course toward the northwest, and after three and a half leagues of very poor trail, over small rocky hills, we stopped to rest on the northern slope of the valley of Piedra Alumbre [rock alum] near Arroyo Seco, among some hills which are at the east and northeast of this valley, where they say there is alum stone, also transparent gypsum; in the afternoon we started from Arroyo Seco [dry ravine], traveling north; after a short distance we went northeast along a hilly canyon, and after two leagues of very bad road we stopped on the banks of Arroyo Seco. Today we had a heavy shower and we advanced seven leagues.

**August 2.** We continued along the same canyon going northeast, and after a little more than four leagues we changed our course toward the north. We entered a hilly canyon in which for about one-fourth of a league there is such a dense forest of low [scrub] oaks, that when passing through it, four of our animals got lost and we had to stop and look for them, and we found them shortly afterward. We also lost our trail because it was but little used; we later saw that it passes through the eastern side of the Arroyo, running along the middle of it, and it is the same which farther south they call the Arroyo del Canjilon [Arroyo Seco]. Beyond the forest there is a small plain of abundant pasture, very pleasant to the eyes, because it produces flowers of a shade between purple and white which, if not pinks, are very similar to them in color. Here are also in the valley limita plants, bearing a little red fruit about the size of a wild plum and very much like a lemon in coolness and taste, so that in this land it is used like lemon in the preparation of cooling drinks. In addition, there is a capulin<sup>15</sup> [cherry] much smaller than the Mexican fruit, and another small fruit which they call manzanita<sup>16</sup>; this tree is like the limita [small wild citrus] but the leaves are more like celery. The fruit is about the size of ordinary chickpeas; its color is sometimes white and sometimes black, its taste bittersweet and a little biting, but agreeable. Where the pinks mentioned above grow, the canyon is divided into two by a high hill. On both sides there are roads, one going north and the other west. At the beginning of the latter road and at the foot of the southern end of the hill, there is a little fountain [spring] with a steady flow of good water; but it will be necessary to make troughs that the animals may drink

15. Bird cherry (an astringent fruit).

16. Shrubs of the genus *Arctostaphylos*.



a little. After rounding up the animals again, we continued our journey through the canyon in a westerly direction after going a league and a quarter toward the north. After marching less than half a league west, we changed our route toward the northwest and after a little more than three leagues over good ground we reached a resting place at a brook [creek] which is called Rio de la Cebolla [onion], and we went a little distance from our road. In its bed we found pools of stagnant water, proving that there is seldom running water. We set out from here in the afternoon, going north about one-fourth of a league to reach the road which we had left before. We traveled northwest and after three leagues or a little more of good road we stopped on a small plain by the banks of another brook which is called the Rio de las Nutrias [otter or beaver river] because though the water appears to flow steadily all or most of the year, there are pools in which they say beavers breed.

We marched eight leagues.

**August 3.** We started from the Arroyo de las Nutrias toward the northwest and reached a pine-covered slope, and after three leagues or a little less, we went down to the Chama River and went north about a mile through its beautiful valley. We crossed it and stopped to rest on the opposite bank. The ford is very good but near the adjacent banks there are large marshes hidden by a pebbly surface. In one of these marshes Don Juan Pedro Cisneros' mount sank out of sight. The valley runs from north to south for about a league, and it has good soil for planting and is easily irrigated. It produces much flax and there is good and abundant pasture. There are, besides, other conveniences which a settlement needs for its subsistence. Here is a grove of white poplars [cottonwoods]. In the afternoon we continued our trip and after climbing the west bank of the river we entered a little valley, which we named Santo Domingo; going around three large plateaus covered with pine trees, which, starting from three little hills lying almost north, form a curved line from north to south as far as the river. At the west of these plateaus they told us there were two ponds. The first one, and the more southerly, lies to the west of the pass, which from the first plateau can be seen between the first and second plateaus; and the second is located west of the other pass which also can be seen between the second and third plateaus. These ponds and the valley are well suited for the breeding of cattle and sheep. We continued along the valley in a northwest direction, and we entered a little pine forest where we lost a laden mule which did not turn up until sundown; we therefore were forced to stop in a spot covered with brambles, close to the three plateaus, which we named after the Santisima Trinidad [Trinity], having walked from the river only two leagues toward the northwest. In this place there was no continual flow

of water, but we found a little in a nearby creek a little to the east-southeast. At the point where we crossed today, the Chama River flows from north to south before it joins the Cerro del Pedernal, and west beyond the town of Abiquiú.

We covered five leagues today.

**August 4.** We started from the Santísima Trinidad toward the north and went two leagues over the same hill which is covered with pines, piñon pines [nutpines] and low oaks. Grass for pasture and tall flax are plentiful here; it is surrounded by two large plateaus, each one of which forms a semi-circle, the northern extremity of the one almost touching the southern extremity of the other, and separated by a narrow pass. We continued our way about a fourth of a league toward the northwest and went through the pass, near which there is another pond which we named Olivares and which is about one-fourth of a league long, and about two hundred yards wide. Its water, though not of very good flavor, is fit to drink. Leaving the pond and the pass, we went north half a league and then northeast, leaving the road which goes near Piedra Parada [rocky, unused?] (a place known to our people who have traveled this route) and the guides led us through a pathless and continuous thicket, telling us that on the road we left, there were three very steep hills, and that it was less direct than the short cut they were following. We went a little more than a league and in the same thicket we changed our course west-northwest and turned to climb the same mountain, and half a league beyond we continued northwest. We walked three and a half leagues through a very fertile and grassy valley and we reached a very wide valley of the stream, which because of the road of Piedra Parada is called the road of Belduque. In this valley we turned west and after walking down the valley for two leagues we stopped in a canyon, which because of an accident we named Cañon del Engaño [Canyon of Deceit]. We covered nine and a quarter leagues today. Here is plenty of stagnant water and pasture.

**August 5.** We started from the Cañon del Engaño on a southwesterly course and half a league away we reached the Navajó River which rises in the Grulla Mountains, flows from northeast to southwest to this point, and from here it changes its course to the north for a little over three leagues where it joins another river which is called the San Juan. The Navajó River has less water at this point than the Chama River. After crossing the river we continued with difficulty along the same canyon in a southerly direction for about a league and then we altered our course to the southwest for a quarter of a league; and then to the west, for three-quarters of a league, past canyons, hills and mountains—a difficult journey. Moreover, the guides lost the path, showing they had slight knowledge of this land. So, to avoid going down still more,

we took a northwest course and walked without a trail for about three leagues, climbing a high, but not very steep mountain and we saw nearby the bed of the above mentioned river. We descended to the river over rather rough but passable hillsides, and after little more than three leagues west-northwest, we crossed it by a good ford, and we stopped on the northern bank. Here the river flows to meet the San Juan. The guides told us that the river junction lay a little higher up, and so we determined to fix the latitude of this place and for this purpose to stop there until the following afternoon. We took our observations from the meridian of the sun and we found that we were in a place which we named Nuestra Señora de las Nieves [snow], at a latitude of  $37^{\circ}51'$ . Fray Silvestre went to examine the place where both rivers, the Navajó and the San Juan, meet, and found it to be three leagues away as the crow flies, almost to the east of Nieves, and found on their banks, where they join, good conditions for a settlement of ordinary size. The San Juan River carries more water than the Navajó River, and farther north they say it has good wide valleys because it runs over more open ground. Together they form a river as abundant as the one to the north, during the month of July, and they are called the Rio Grande de Navajó, dividing the province of this name from the Yuta country. From the valley and place of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, going south, there is good land easily watered and all necessary requirements for three or four large towns. This is what we saw: on both banks of the river there are very thick and leafy forests of white poplars, low oaks, cherry trees, apple trees, citron [lemon] trees and cacti. There are also some sarsaparilla trees and a tree which we thought was a walnut. We traveled eight leagues today.

**August 6.** In the afternoon we left Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, going down river in a westerly direction and we covered about two leagues and a half of poor road and we stopped by the side of the river. Don Bernardo Miera had been troubled by a pain in the stomach for some time and this afternoon he felt much worse; but the Lord willed that before dawn the following day he felt much better so that we were able to continue our journey. We traveled today two and a half leagues.

**August 7.** We continued along the bank of the river and the slope of the nearby hills, a little over one league to the west; we climbed a somewhat steep slope, then we turned northwest and after another league we arrived at another river which is called the Piedra Parada, close by its junction with the Navajó River. Here is a very large valley which we named the San Antonio Valley, with very good soil for planting, easily watered, with all the essentials a town may require in the way of fire-wood, stone, lumber and pasture lands; and everything is nearby. This river rises north of the San Juan River in the same chain of mountains, named



the Grulla [crane] Mountains; it flows from north to south and is less abundant than the Chama River, which passes by the town of Abiquiú. After crossing this river we traveled west two leagues, a little over two more leagues west-northwest and we arrived at the eastern shore of the river which is called the Rio de los Piños, because pine trees are to be found on its banks. The water of this river is sweet, but a little less abundant than the river to the north. It flows here from north to south; it joins the Navajó and has its source in the Grulla Mountains, near the western end, and here the mountains are called La Plata [silver] Range. Here is a large valley with very rich pastures, especially of couch-grass, much good soil for planting and irrigation, and everything desirable for a large settlement; we stopped in this valley and named it the Vega de San Cayetano. We traveled today a little over six leagues.

**August 8.** We left the Piños River and the San Cayetano Valley, and rode west-northwest, and four leagues away we reached the Florido River, which is medium in size and smaller than the Piños River. It rises in the same chain of mountains a little more to the west. It flows in the same north-south direction and at the place we crossed it there is a large valley and good soil for crops which can be easily irrigated. The pasture lands in the valley were good, but not those in the nearby vicinity, although in rainy years it seems to have good pasture. After crossing the Florido River, we traveled west two leagues, and west-northwest a little over two more leagues, and descended a stony slope, not very broad, and we arrived at Las Animas River, near the western extremity of La Plata Mountains, where the river rises. We crossed it and we stopped on the opposite bank. This river is as large as the one in the north, and now it has more water, and flows more swiftly, because of the more pronounced declivity of its bed, which slopes from north to south; it empties, like the other rivers, into the Navajó: it flows here between canyon walls but they say that farther down there are good valleys. We traveled today a little over eight leagues. There is no good pasture land here, but there is some a little farther on.

**August 9.** We started from the Animas River; we climbed its west bank, which is not very wide but is very difficult, because it consists of a great deal of stone and in some places it is very steep. We got over the hump of its summit which may be a little over a fourth of a league, and entered a valley with abundant pasture; we walked along the valley about one league west and turned east, a quarter northwest, and after three leagues over a thickly wooded mountain with good pasture we arrived at the San Joaquín River, also called La Plata River, which is small and since it passes by the town of San Gerónimo de los Taos, it takes its source in the same western extremity of La Plata Mountains, and flows







down through the canyon in which it is said there are seams and outcroppings of metal [ore]; but though some years ago several persons from New Mexico came to inspect them by order of the Governor, who at that time was Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín, and took away with them some rocks with traces of metal, nobody could ascertain what sort of metal it was. The opinion which some persons formed, based on what they heard from various Indians and other persons in the vicinity, that these specimens contained silver, caused the mountains to be called La Plata Mountains. From the slope of the Animas River up to the San Joaquin River the land is very wet, owing to its proximity to the chain of mountains, where it rains frequently, and therefore on the mountains where there are very tall and straight pine trees, small oaks and several kinds of wild fruit trees, as well as in the valleys, there is excellent pasture land. The temperature here is uncomfortably cold, even in July and August. Among the fruits there is a little black one, of a pleasant taste and very similar to the medlar,<sup>17</sup> although not so sweet. We did not travel any farther today, because the animals did not eat well the night before last and they were rather weak, and also because a long and heavy shower compelled us to stop. Today we made four leagues and a quarter, almost all to the west.

**August 10.** Although Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke a little the worse for his rheumatism, which the day before began to make itself felt in his face and head, and it had been necessary to make a stop-over until his condition improved a little, the constant rains, the rough weather and the great dampness of the place compelled us to leave it and travel north. After little more than a league, we set our course toward the northwest. We continued on for a league and then went west through very pleasant mountain valleys with abundant pastures, roses and other flowers. After traveling about two leagues a very heavy rain came down again. Fray Francisco Atanasio's condition became worse, and the road was impassable. Thus, after covering with great difficulty two leagues toward the west, we were forced to stop by the bank of the first brook of the two which form the San Lázaro River, also called the Mancos River. Pasture lands are here in abundance. We traveled today four leagues and a half.

**August 11.** In spite of the great cold and the dampness we had endured we could not move on, because Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke in the morning very tired and running a temperature because of his rheumatism, and for that reason we could not go to see the above-mentioned veins and metal-bearing rocks in the mountain, though they were not far away, according to what one of our companions who had seen them on another occasion told us.

**August 12.** Fray Francisco Atanasio awoke feeling somewhat

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<sup>17</sup>. Similar to a crab apple.

better and, more in order to have a change of place and climate than to advance on our journey, we left the region of the San Lázaro River and followed a northwest course. We traveled a little over a league and directed our course west-northwest and after marching five leagues over a thickly forested hill with good pasture, we went toward the west. We pushed on for two leagues and a half through a chamiso thicket where there was little pasture and after a quarter league north we crossed the River of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and camped on its northern bank. This river rises in the northern slope of the Sierra de la Plata and flows southwest to this point where it changes its direction. It is a little smaller than the Norte River at this period. We traveled today a little over eight leagues and a half.

**August 13.** We stopped over, so that Fray Francisco Atanasio might get better before proceeding on our journey and also to observe the height of this location and the valley of the Dolores River where we were at the time. We took our bearings by the sun and saw that we were in the latitude  $38^{\circ}13.5'$ . There is here everything a medium-sized town might need for its subsistence, products from well watered land, pasture, timber, and fire-wood. On the southern border of the river, on an elevation, there used to be in former times a small town, similar in form to those of the Indians of New Mexico, as evidenced by the ruins which we examined purposely [carefully]. Fray Francisco Atanasio's condition showed some improvement and we decided to continue our journey the following day.

**August 14.** We left the valley of the Dolores River and took a northerly course; after a quarter-league we went northwest for about a league, through a rather thick chamiso thicket for a quarter of a league, and five leagues west: we entered a high, craggy canyon and after marching two leagues north, we arrived a second time at the Dolores River, which here flows in a northwest course. We crossed it twice in a short time and we stopped on the west bank. We named the place which is a short valley with good pasture, the Valle de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora. This afternoon we were joined by a Coyote Indian and a Genízaro Indian from Abiquiú, whose names were Felipe and Juan Domingo. So that they might be among gentiles, they ran away from the town without the permission of their superiors, giving as a reason that they wanted to accompany us. We did not need them, but to avoid the harm which they might cause through ignorance or malice, going alone for a time among the Yuta Indians, if we insisted on their returning to the town, we took them along as companions. We traveled today eight and a quarter leagues.

**August 15.** We left the vicinity of Asunción (on the Dolores River) by a rough and stony canyon, through which we traveled







a quarter of a league west-northwest; we followed then to the northwest and after a little less than a league and a half, we turned north-northwest and went through a chamiso thicket of good, almost level ground; we walked a little over three leagues; we changed our course northwest one league, and after going two and a half leagues west, by the trail which we followed from Asunción and which leads away from the river, between the two branches into which it divides, we stopped for a rest by the edge of a brook, which the guides thought contained water, but which we found to be totally dry. We did not know of any other watering place along our course which we might reach today, so we sent a guide to explore the distance we would have to cover in the afternoon. He found a pool, but so small that there was only sufficient water for the men of the party, but none for the animals. It was covered by stones and branches, apparently on purpose. It has a constant flow of water, which is not very pleasant tasting. The Yuta Indians covered it, perhaps, in memory of some misfortune which befell them in this place, as they are accustomed to do in such cases, according to some of the companions who had been among them. In the afternoon we continued our route and after two leagues northwest and a half league north, we arrived at the little pool which we named Agua Topada. We traveled today nine and three-quarter leagues.

**August 16.** We missed more than half of the animals, which not having had any water, strayed away searching for some, which they found near the road at the midpoint of yesterday's journey. They finally turned up late. For this reason we started from Agua Topada at half past ten in the morning. We followed a little-used trail, which we assumed would take us again to the Dolores River, which we planned to follow; but after traveling this trail northwest for two leagues, and west for a league and a half, it disappeared, because the soil was very loose and the rain had washed it away. From here we went northwest; after a quarter of a league we reached a canyon with a wide entrance in which we found a much traveled road. This we followed and after another quarter of a league north we found a pool which seemed to contain sufficient water for the men and the animals, and because it was situated on the eastern side, hidden in a dark forest of pines and junipers, we named it Agua Escondida. We do not give more details concerning this pool because the road leads straight to it. We made two drinking troughs for the animals; they drank all there was and then were not satisfied. While we explored the place on both sides, so that we might continue our journey that afternoon, Don Bernardo Miera went on alone along the canyon without our seeing him. Because it was necessary to continue our journey we sent one of our companions to bring him back before he got lost, but he was so far ahead that they did not not return

until after midnight to the place where we were waiting with anxiety because of their slowness. They said they had walked along the canyon up to the Dolores River and that in all this distance there was only a short stretch of bad road which could easily be repaired. So we decided to go this way the following day. Today we covered four leagues.

August 17. We started from Agua Escondida and about half past three we reached the Dolores River for the third time, having traveled the entire length of the canyon with its many turnings for seven leagues to the north; were the canyon straight, this distance would be four or five leagues at the most. We gave the canyon the name of *Laberinto de Miera*, because of the unusual and beautiful appearance of the large rocks on either side, which being very high and steep at the turns, make the exit seem more difficult the farther we go, and because Don Bernardo Miera was the first one to explore it. The whole of it is passable and not very difficult for the animals, except for a short distance which can easily be remedied. On our arrival at the river we saw very recent traces of the Yuta Indians: from which we inferred that there was a Yuta settlement nearby. Reasoning that if they had seen us and we did not request their services, they might suspect some harm from us, and be afraid, and also that one of them might direct us or give us some indications on how to continue our route with less difficulty and hardship than we were experiencing, because none of our companions was acquainted with the watering places or the land, we decided to seek them out. When we stopped in a cove by the river, which we named the *San Bernardo*, Fray Francisco Atanasio, accompanied by the interpreter, Andrés Muñiz, and by Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, went to follow the traces [trails] up the river about three leagues. They recognized the traces as being made by the Yutas *Tabehuachis*, but could not find these men, although they went as far as the junction of the little *Paralíticas* River and the Dolores River. They say that the *Paralíticas* River was given its name because the first of our people to see it, found in a village on its bank three Yuta women sick with paralysis. This river separates the Yutas *Tabehuachis* from the Yutas *Muhuachis*; the latter dwell on the south bank and the former on the north. We traveled today seven leagues, which might have been four had we gone directly north.

August 18. Two companions left very early to discover how we might leave the bed of the river where it flows between high and very rugged hills, but not go away from it as long as it did not change its course which here is to the north, or get lost without water and pasture. We could not see how we would be able to continue, except by going along the river bed, which was very stony and would have to be crossed many times. We were afraid that the animals' feet would be bruised. We continued down the



river, leaving the San Bernardo cove a league to the north and we stopped so that they might explore more ground than had been covered in the morning. About eight o'clock at night they came back saying that only by the bed of the river and with great difficulty, we would be able to leave this most impassable route. So we decided to follow along the bed of the river. We traveled today one league north.

**August 19.** We continued down the river, and after traveling with no small difficulty one league northeast and one northwest we stopped in another inlet of the river, so that by watering the animals we would be able to leave the river and follow a footpath going northeast, then follow the river here to the north, if the ruggedness of the ground permitted. In the meantime, one of our companions went on to see whether the path was impassable as far as the chain [range] of high and rocky mountains which we were thinking of crossing if the river bed became impracticable. We found that the path did not go through passable land toward the northwest. We found another trail going southwest, but though we explored it for a long distance where there were no obstacles, we did not dare follow it all the way because farther on, beyond the explored part, we could see high mountains and canyons in which we might get locked and be compelled to retrace our steps. Moreover, the great barrenness of the land we could see made us believe that the rain water holes we might find would be completely dry.

We asked the companions who had previously traveled through this land what course we should follow to avoid all these difficulties, and each one was of a different opinion. Finding ourselves therefore in this quandary, without knowing whether we could follow this trail, or if it would be preferable to go back a short way and take the road to the Yutas Sabuaganas, we placed our trust in God and our will in the Virgin Mary and after asking that our patron saints intercede for us so that God might direct us on the most suitable course for His Holy Service, we cast lots for both roads and the one to the Sabaguana Indians was drawn and we determined to follow it until we reached them. In this place which we named the Cañon del Yeso, because there was some gypsum in a nearby hill, we took the altitude of the sun and found it to be  $39^{\circ}6'$  latitude. We traveled today two leagues.

**August 20.** We left the Cañon del Yeso [gypsum], marching back one league southeast; we crossed the river again, and at its east-northeast end, about a quarter of a league away, we saw in some low hills mines of very good transparent gypsum. After crossing the river we came to a wide valley, and by a well beaten trail at the foot of a high hill, we marched three leagues east-northwest. Then at the request of Don Bernardo Miera, who did not like to follow this road, Andrés, the interpreter, took us to a

very high hill, so steep and rugged that we thought we would be compelled to retrace our steps from the middle of it, because the animals suffered so much on account of the stones that several of them were leaving their traces in blood from their hoofs. Finally we climbed the hill with a prodigious effort, and after a few hours going north, possibly one-fourth of a league up the hill was covered. On the top of the hill we marched a mile northwest, and from here we saw that the trail went along the foot of the hill and over good flat ground. In the descent, which was gradual and not stony, we went over three-fourths of a league north. We continued a little over a league northeast through a chamiso thicket in which there were a great many low prickly-pear cacti, and to avoid the discomfort these plants caused the animals we entered the bed of a creek. After following it for a league eastward we arrived unexpectedly at a watering place of abundant sweet water, consisting of rainwater and the water from a little spring which we named San Bernardo. According to the evidence afforded by the trails and the ruined huts, it is a meeting place for the Yuta Indians, to which leads the road we left when climbing the impassable hill. We stopped here although the pasture is not very abundant, because we marched six leagues today (without counting the distance we retraced).

**August 21.** We left the San Bernardo watering place, and along the canyon, in the south end of which it is located, we walked four leagues north, over rather bad ground and some difficult sections. At about the middle of the canyon there are some very good pools of water, and at the end, about a fourth of a league away, there is as much water as in a medium sized fountain. Crossing this canyon we went on a league, more or less, northwest through a level chamiso thicket; we entered another canyon where the going was as bad as before, and after traveling a long league north we reached the San Pedro River and stopped in a short valley, which we named the Paraje de San Luis. We traveled today six leagues.

**August 22.** We started from San Luis, crossed the river. We climbed a very high and steep slope, but not very stony, coming to a wide plateau which is like a remnant of the Tabehuachis Mountains. We traveled over it by a northeast route for two leagues, east-northeast over a half league, east-southeast another half league, and we descended from the plateau by a short, steep hill. This is the hill which Don Juan Maria de Rivera described in his diary, in an exaggerated fashion, as very unpleasant. Then along the border of the San Pedro River, above the river, we went for a league, toward the northeast. We stopped to rest and some went to explore the land through which we would travel in the afternoon, leaving the river behind, if there was water nearby, otherwise we would go the following day. They came back late









and we decided to sleep in this same place which we named San Felipe. We traveled four leagues today.

August 23. We started from San Felipe [on the San Pedro River], climbed a hill and along the foot of the Tabehuachis Mountains (so named because they are inhabited by the Yuta Indians of this name) we traveled for four leagues, which, because of the many turnings we took, would be two leagues to the east of San Felipe. We left behind the San Pedro River, which has its source in the Grulla Mountains (in one of the branches), which, with the branch they call the Sierra de la Plata, continues north, changes to northwest and then west until it joins the Dolores River, near the low range called La Sal Mountains, because there are salt mines close by, from which, as we learned, the Yuta Indians living in this territory take their salt. It is a medium sized river. We stopped to rest near a pool with a constant flow of water which comes down from the mountains into a level chamiso thicket with good pasture on its south side, forming a sort of eyebrow. On top there are the ruins of a small old village whose houses appear to have been built with stones with which the Yutas Tabehuachis have made a weak and shoddy [inferior] rampart. We found good pasture here for the animals, which had been scarce since we left Asunción by the Dolores River, up to today, because the land was so burnt up and dry that it showed that it has not rained at all this summer. In the afternoon it started to rain, but stopped after a little more than an hour and a half, and we continued our journey, climbing the Tabehuachis Mountains by a very high hill, craggy here and there. After marching a league northeast and a league east a Yuta Tabehuachi joined us.

This Yuta is the first one we have seen since the first trip we made from Abiquiú in which we met two others. In order to talk leisurely with him we stopped near the source of the pond by which we rested, and gave it the name of Fuenté de le Guia. We gave him food and tobacco and afterward through the interpreter we asked him various questions about the land lying ahead, the rivers and their courses. We also asked him where the Tabehuachis, Muhuachis and the Sabuagana Indians were to be found. In the beginning he seemed not to know anything, even the location of his home; but after his fear and distrust of us had been dispelled he told us that the Sabuaganas were all in their land [country], and that we would meet them soon; that the Tabehuachis were scattered through this chain of mountains and in the adjoining lands; that the rivers from the San Pedro to the San Rafael inclusive, all empty into the Dolores River, and that the latter joins the Navajó River. We asked him to guide us as far as the settlement of a Sabuagana leader, who, according to our interpreter and other persons, was friendly to the Spaniards, and was well acquainted with the land. He accepted on condition that

we would wait for him until the afternoon of the following day. We agreed to wait for him, so that he might guide us and so that he might not suspect us of some evil design which would harm him and the rest of his people. Today we traveled six leagues.

**August 24.** Before noon the Yuta arrived at the place where we were waiting for him, accompanied by his family, two other women and five children, two of these were nursing at the breast and three were between eight and ten years of age, all of them well cared for and courteous. They took us for traders and they brought chamois skins and other things for exchange; among these, they brought preserves made of small black apples, of the kind mentioned in the beginning of this diary, which are very similar to small grapes and very tasty. We convinced the Indians, though they did not believe us altogether, that we were not traders, and, so that they would not take us for explorers who had come with the idea of conquering their land, nor hinder us in our journey, thinking that the Cosnina Indians might have spread the news of the trip of Fray Francisco Garcés<sup>18</sup> to the Yuta Payuchis, and from them to the others, we told them that a friar, a brother of ours, had come to Cosnina and Moqui, that from here he had gone back to Cosnina. With that they became quite calm, pitying us for our trouble, and said that they had not had any news of him. We fed them all and the wife of our new guide gave us a little dry deer meat and two dishes of dried black apple, which we paid for in flour. After midday we gave the Yuta what he asked for guiding us—two cutlasses [knives] and sixteen strings of white beads, which he gave to his wife, who with the other women, went to their camp, while we left the Fuenté de la Guia with him whom we shall begin to call Atanasio, and traveled along the slope of the mountain a half league to the east, again a half league east-southeast, and a quarter league southeast. We turned east, leaving a footpath which goes southeast and getting away from the trail we followed so far, and after three-fourths of a league, a fourth of a league southeast and two leagues east, we stopped in a valley with very high, but not difficult slopes. We therefore named it the Cañada Honda [Deep Valley]. In it there is a fountain of good water, much firewood, and abundant pasture for the animals. Today we covered two leagues.

**August 25.** We started from the Cañada Honda, going east, and through a thick brush of small oaks we walked a half league; we changed southeast over a more open ground and we followed the same trail three and a half leagues, and after another half league east, we began to cross the chain of mountains following a

18. Escalante refers to Fray Francisco Garcés' diary of the expedition of Captain Don Juan Baptista de Ansa (Governor of New Mexico) from Tubac, Arizona to San Gabriel, California in 1774, for the purpose of opening a road by way of the Gila and Colorado rivers to the new missions of San Diego and Monte Rey—H.S.A.

northeast course, and after a league and a half of good open ground and without any steep slope we reached the summit which is a place of very good pasturage and pleasant appearance, because of the brushwood and the beautiful poplar groves close together. There are three trails here and we followed the one going northeast. After a league and a half we stopped again on the northern slope of the mountain near an excellent spring of good water which we called Ojo de Láin, and which has its source about six paces east of the trail. Before we could prepare some food, of which we were very much in need, a very heavy rain began to fall. We traveled seven and a half leagues today.

August 26. We left Ojo de Láin going northeast and covered one league. The trail we had been following here separated into two: one follows an east-northeast course and the other goes northeast. We followed the second one and after two leagues and a half northeast we finished descending the mountain and we reached the banks and valleys of the San Francisco River, named by the Yutas Ancapagari [Uncompahgre] (which, according to the interpreter, means Laguna Colorado or Red Lake), because they say that there is near its source a spring of red water, warm and foul tasting. In this valley of the river, which is large and very flat, there is a broad and well-traveled road. Down the river we marched a league and a half in a northwest course and we stopped near a large marsh with very abundant pasturage, which we named Ciénaga de San Francisco. Today we covered five leagues.

### *Description of the Mountains Seen Up to Today*

The range of mountains called Grulla and Plata begin near the place named Cobre, near the town of this name which is now deserted. In the beginning it runs almost northwest, and about seventy leagues from Santa Fé, it sends a chain west-southwest and this is called the Sierra de la Plata. From here it follows north-northeast, swinging north a little before reaching the Tabehuachis Mountains, as far as the smaller one called Venado Alazán, where it ends on its northern side. On the east it joins, so they say, the Almagre [red ochre] Mountains and the Sierra Blanca. On the west-southwest, a quarter west of the Plata extremity, about thirty leagues, we can see another low chain named Dátil. This chain sends west all the rivers we have seen so far and others beyond, up to the San Rafael River inclusive. The chain of the Tabehuachis Mountains which we have just crossed runs in a northwest course and may be about thirty leagues long and, where we crossed it, about eight or ten leagues wide. It has abundant good pasture, is very damp and has good soil for crops which require much moisture. It produces many fir trees, piñon, royal pines, small oaks, several kinds of wild fruits and in some places flax. Deer, roe deer and other animals are found here, and hens of the



size and shape of domestic hens, with this difference, that they have no crest; their flesh is very tasty. About twenty leagues west in these mountains we find the La Sal Mountains, which also seem low. To the west-southwest, about four leagues away, is seen the Sierra de Abajo.

The river called the San Francisco River is of medium size and a little larger than the Dolores River. It is formed by several brooks descending from the western slope of the Grulla Mountains and flows northwest. The valley we saw here is well suited for sowing, easily irrigated and may be about three leagues long. We find here every necessary thing for a regular settlement. North of this valley there is a low chain of mountains and hills of a leaden color, topped by yellow soil.

**August 27.** We started from the San Francisco Mountains, down the river following a northwest course and after a short while we met a Yuta, called Surdo, with his family. We tarried a long while, and after a long talk with him we did not get anything worthwhile, except the hot sunbeams, all the time the talk lasted. We continued our journey along the valley and after two and a half leagues toward the northwest we crossed the river, which had a luxuriant and thick forest of poplars and many other trees growing on its banks. We climbed a small hill, entered a plain without pasture, but with many small stones, and after three and a half leagues north-northwest down the river, we stopped in another valley of the same river which we named the San Agustín el Grande. On both sides there is abundant pasture and much black poplar. We traveled six leagues today.

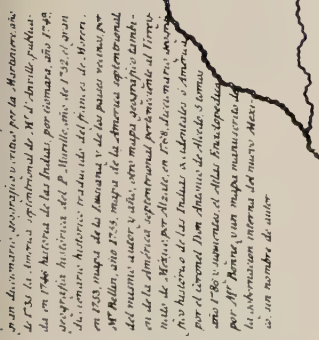
Farther down, about four leagues north from this valley of San Agustín, this river joins another one larger than the one named by our people San Javier, and by the Yutas, Tomichi.<sup>19</sup> Don Juan María de Rivera in the year 1765 reached the junction of these two rivers, crossing the same Tabehuachis Mountains, on top of which is the place he named Purgatorio, according to the indications in his itinerary. The valley where he stopped to ford the river and where he says he carved a cross on a poplar shoot, his own name and the year of his expedition, is found at the same

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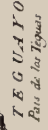
19. Juan de Uribarri in 1706 led some 40 Spaniards and about 100 Indians from Taos, New Mexico, to the Arkansas River, to a place in the vicinity of the present city of Pueblo, Colorado, and then journeyed easterly for five days to a region known as El Cuartelejo.

Don Juan María de Rivera in 1765 headed an expedition from Santa Fé to investigate the existence of silver mines in La Plata Mountains (Colorado) and on that trip he explored and traded at least as far as the present Gunnison River. Don Joaquin Laín, and Andrés Muñiz, interpreters and guides with Escalante's party, had previously accompanied Rivera on his explorations. Rivera subsequently made two and possibly more trips into this section of the present state of Colorado, apparently penetrating for a considerable distance beyond the Gunnison River, for Escalante notes that two of Rivera's companions (Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval) on one of these expeditions thought that they had traveled as far as the great Tizon River. Escalante also mentions (page 15) that companions of Rivera came again to this region in 1775. As a result of Rivera's trips other expeditions traveled into this region for the purpose of prospecting for precious metals and trading with the Indians. Because of the explorations of Rivera and others some knowledge was available regarding the region between Santa Fé and the Gunnison River.—H.S.A.





Interventor de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Sevilla, y de las Escuelas Vascas, y de Actuarías Año de 1795.



Map of New Mexico, 1795, showing Rio del Tizon o de la Buena Esperanza.

Reproduction of the original map in Madrid from a photostat in the E. A. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.



junction on the southern bank, according to the statement made by our interpreter, Andrés Muñiz, who with Don Juan María, in the year mentioned, went as far as the Tabehuachis Mountains, saying that although at that time he remained three days' march from the river, coming again in 1775 along the bank with Pedro Mora and Gregorio Sandoval, who accompanied Don Juan Maria throughout the said expedition, they said that they reached this place then and from there they began their return journey, only the two of them, sent by Don Juan Maria, having crossed it to look for Yutas on the bank opposite the valley, where they stopped and from there they came back, and so this was the one which they thought at that time was the great Tizon River.

**August 28.** We started from the San Agustín valley, leaving the San Francisco River in a northerly direction, and after a half league we continued three leagues and a half north-northeast over smooth ground, and arrived at the above mentioned San Francisco Javier River (commonly called the San Javier), also known as the Tomichi, which is formed by four small rivers descending from the northern point of the Grulla Mountains. It carries as much water as the one to the north, flows west, and in the westerly end of the Venado Alazán range it joins the San Francisco River, as we have already said. Pasturage along its banks is very scarce at this point. In one of its inlets where we found some pasture which we named Santa Mónica, we stopped today with the intention of resting a while and then continuing up the river until we found a settlement of the Sabuaganas Indians, which we learned yesterday was near here, and in it some Timpangotzis Indians through whose land we intended to pass; but thinking of the time which would be lost marching up the river in this direction and that the animals' hoofs, which were already bruised, would become worse, and that it would be necessary for us to use up much of our supplies in going to their settlement, we agreed to send our interpreter with the guide Atanasio to ask them to come and to see whether some of them or the Lagunas would be willing to guide us for a fee, as far as they knew the land. Both men went and we stayed at Santa Mónica waiting for them. We traveled today four leagues and took the latitude of the place by the sun's meridian and it is  $39^{\circ}13'22''$ .

**August 29.** About ten in the morning we saw on a hill by the other bank of the river five Yutas Sabuaganas, shouting and yelling. We supposed that they were the ones whom we had sent for, but when they reached the place where we were, we knew that they were not the ones we expected. We gave them food and tobacco, and after a long talk, on the subject of the quarrels they had had during the summer with the Comanches Yamparicas, we could not get from them anything of any use to us, because their aim was to frighten us, exaggerating the danger we were running

of losing our lives at the hands of the Comanches if we continued our journey. We refuted the arguments they used to prevent our going forward by telling them that our God, who is everybody's God, would defend us in case we should meet these enemies.

August 30. In the morning the interpreter Andrés and the guide Atanasio arrived with five Sabuaganas Indians and one Laguna Indian. After making them presents of sufficient food and tobacco we told them our purpose, which was to go to the pueblo or pueblos of the Lagunas (the Yutas had told us that the Lagunas lived in pueblos such as those of Nuevo-México), and told them that since they were our friends, they should furnish us with a good guide who would take us to those people and whom we would pay to his satisfaction. They replied that to go where we wanted there was no other road than the one passing through the Comanches' territory, and that these Indians would prevent our passage and would even kill us, and finally that none of them was acquainted with the land between the place where we were and that of the Lagunas. They repeated several times the same thing, insisting that we go back. We tried to convince them, with reasons and presents, not to displease us [them?]; then we gave the Laguna a woolen blanket, a cutlass and some white glass beads, telling him that we gave him all that, so that he would accompany us and be our guide as far as his land. He agreed and we gave him what we had promised. When the Sabuaganas saw this, they stopped exaggerating the dangers and some of them admitted that they knew the way. After all that, they insisted that we go to their settlement, telling us that the Laguna did not know the way. However we well understood this to be a new way to keep us there and to enjoy our favors for a while longer, because to all those who came today, and they were numerous, we gave food and tobacco; but to avoid offending them and losing such a good guide as we had secured, we yielded and went with them. This afternoon we started from Santa Mónica, crossed the San Javier River in which we watered the animals, climbed a hill and went over hilly land, but smooth and stoneless, up the river east-northeast two leagues, and after two more leagues northeast, through more level ground, but covered with some undergrowth, many small nopal [cactus or prickly pear] trees and small stones—poor country—we stopped by the side of a little river which we named the Santa Rosa. This river rises in the Venado Alazán Mountains, on the southern slope where we are now, and empties into the San Javier River. There is here a fair valley of good pasturage and a luxuriant forest of white poplars and small oaks. We traveled today four leagues. The Sabuaganas and the Laguna slept in our company.

August 31. We started from the Santa Rosa de Lima River toward the northeast. We walked one league and a half over good



ground and we arrived at another medium sized river which descends from the same mountains as the last one, and with it enters the San Javier River; we named this river the Santa Mónica. In its valleys and inlets there is everything necessary for the founding and subsistence of two towns. We went up the river through these valleys and through the cottonwood groves four leagues and a half to the northeast; crossing the river once. We changed our course to the north, crossed the river again and entered a forest of junipers where there were many stones, and which extended for about three miles. Then we continued climbing the Venado Alazán range up the side of a very steep valley, through thick undergrowths of small oak, and after four leagues, always to the north, we stopped by a lake of steadily flowing water, which we named the San Ramón Nonnato. One of the Yutas Sabuaganas who came with us from Santa Mónica, gorged himself with so much food that we thought he would die of repletion. Seeing himself so sick, he said that the Spaniards had brought this upon him. This foolish notion worried us, because we knew that these savages, if they accidentally fall sick after eating something given to them by someone else, even by someone of their own tribe, believe that this one has harmed them and they endeavor to take revenge for an injury which they have not received. God willed, however, that he became better after vomiting up some of the enormous quantity that he could not digest. We traveled today nine leagues.

September 1. We left the San Ramón River, going north, and after three leagues through small valleys with abundant pastures and thick brush of low oaks, we met about eighty Yutas, all of them on good horses, and most of them from the settlement where we were going. They told us that they were out on a hunting expedition; but we thought that they came in a band, either to show us their numbers and strength or to reconnoitre, to see whether other Spaniards were with us or whether we were alone; because knowing since the night before that we were going to their settlement it was natural that all the men would not leave the settlement at the time they knew we were coming, unless they were motivated by the reasons we mentioned. We went on with only the Laguna. We descended a very steep slope and entered a very pleasant valley in which there was a small river, and along its banks a broad forest of very tall and straight royal pines, and among them some white poplars which seemed to contend in height and straightness with the pines. Along this valley we went east a league, and we arrived at the settlement which was large, consisting of about thirty tents. We stopped a mile below it by the side of the river and we named the place San Antonio Mártir. We walked four leagues today (making a total of one hundred and ninety-nine leagues).

As soon as we had encamped, Fray Francisco Atanasio went with the interpreter Andrés Muñiz to the settlement to see the leader and the others who remained there. He entered the chief's tent, and after greeting him and embracing him and his children, he requested him to call together all the people there. This was done, and when all members of both sexes were assembled, including our guide and the Laguna Indian, Fray Atanasio explained the Gospel to them by means of the interpreter. When the Father started to instruct them, the new guide interrupted him, admonishing the Sabuaganas as well as his own people, to believe everything the Father was telling them, because every word was true. The other Laguna showed the pleasure and attention with which he heard the announcement of his eternal salvation in this way. There was a deaf man in the audience, who not hearing what it was about, asked what the Father was saying. Then the Laguna said: "The Father says that the One he is showing us (it was an image of the Crucified Christ) is the One Lord of everything, Who dwells in the highest of the heavens, and that in order to please Him and to go and see Him, it is necessary to be baptized and to beg His forgiveness for our sins." He said this last sentence, striking his chest with his fist, an act admirable in one who had never seen the Father or interpreter doing it. The Father noticing the pleasure they showed in listening to him, proposed to the leader who at that moment commanded the settlement, that if after conferring with his people they accepted Christianity, we would come to teach them, guide them in the proper way of life, and baptize them. The leader answered that he would ask his people; but during the whole afternoon he did not return to give us any reason for hoping that they would accept our proposal.

The Father rejoiced at the statement of the Lagunas, and asked the guide whom we had named Silvestre, what was the name of the man who had spoken. On learning that his name was Oso Colorado [Red Bear] he taught them all, explaining the difference between men and animals, the purpose for which they were all created, and how wrong it was to bear the names of beasts, becoming thereby the equals and even the inferiors of the animals. He immediately told the Laguna that henceforth his name would be Francisco. Hearing this, the others started to repeat the name, though with difficulty, making the Laguna happy that they should call him so. It also happened that the Father calling the leader, the one who, as we said, commanded the settlement, the latter answered that he was not the leader, but that the real leader was a nice looking young fellow who was present. The Father asked him whether he was already married and he answered that he was and that he had two wives. The young man was ashamed of it, but the other did him honor, saying that he was the brother of a leader much beloved among the Sabuaganas, named Yamputzi,



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and he tried to convince us that he had only one wife. From that we concluded that these savages have some information or knowledge of the impropriety of having several wives at the same time. From this the Father took the opportunity of instructing them on this point, and warned them to take only one wife. After all this he bought from them some dried bison meat, giving them in exchange some strings of glass beads, asking them if they would like to give us some of their horses in exchange for ours, which had bruised hoofs. They answered that they would exchange them in the afternoon. After that the Father returned to our camp.

A short while before sunset the leader, some elderly men and many others came where we were. They started to persuade us to turn back from there, exaggerating again and vehemently the difficulties and the dangers to which we were exposing ourselves by going forward, assuring us that the Comanches would not allow us to go on, and that they did not tell us all this to keep us from going wherever we might desire, but because they liked us so much. We answered this statement and told them that the one and only God Whom we worship, would make everything easy for us and would defend us not only against the Comanches but also against all those who might think of doing us harm, and being sure that His Majesty was on our side, nothing they said frightened us. Seeing that their protestations were useless, they said that since we wished to go on without paying attention to their warnings, we should write to the Great Captain of the Spaniards (that is the name they give the Governor) informing him that we are going beyond their land so that if any evil befell us and we did not return, the Spaniards would not think that they had taken our lives. This was a trick thought up by some of our companions who wanted to start back or stay with the Indians. We answered that we would write and leave the letter with them so that when some of them went to Nuevo-México they could take the letter along. They answered that they could not take the letter, and that we should send it by one of our companions. We said that none of our men could go back or remain with them. Finally since they could find no way to prevent our journey, without declaring themselves to be our enemies, they said that if we did not turn back from there, they would not exchange horses with us. To this we answered that even if they did not make the exchange we had to continue, because in no way could we turn back without knowing the way the Father, our Brother, had gone, who had been among the Moquis and the Cosninas, and who might be lost.<sup>20</sup> To this, inspired by those of our companions who understood their language and were waging silent and cruel war against us, they said that the Fathers could not get lost, because they kept all the lands and the roads drawn on paper. They began again to insist and to repeat the same argu-

20. This is authenticated in miscellaneous letters of Escalante—See footnote page 23.  
—H.S.A.

ments to make us turn back and seeing our unchanging determination, they repeated that they were urging us not to go on because they loved us, but if we wanted to continue they would not prevent us, and that they would exchange horses in the morning. They took leave of us at nightfall, not relinquishing the hope of wearing down our resistance the following day, because as we noticed, Felipe of Abiquiú, our interpreter Andrés and his brother Lucrecio, were those who, either through fear or because they did not want to go on, were secretly stirring up the Sabuaganas, as soon as they understood they were opposing our plans. This caused us great sadness then and still more the following day.

From the town of Santa Fé we warned all our companions that those willing to accompany us in this journey would not be allowed to carry away trading goods, and those who did not accept this condition would be obliged to remain. All of them promised not to carry any goods nor to have any other aim than our own aim, which was the glory of God and the welfare of our souls. Accordingly we gave them whatever they might need for the journey and to leave with their families; but some broke their promise by carrying, hidden away, some goods which we did not see until we were near the Sabuaganas. Here we requested and begged all of them not to trade goods, so that the infidels would see that a motive higher than that of trading brought us to this land. We had just told the Sabuaganas that we did not need arms or other men because all our security and defense we entrusted to the Almighty Arm of God; but Andrés Muñiz, our interpreter, and his brother Lucrecio, showed themselves to be such obedient and faithful Christians<sup>21</sup> that they traded what they had hidden in their baggage; and with great anxiety they begged the savages for weapons, saying that they were very necessary because they were going to enter the Comanche land. By doing this, to our great sorrow, they showed their little or no faith and lack of qualifications for similar undertakings.

**September 2.** Early in the morning there came to our camp the same Indians and a few more than yesterday. They came back to repeat the same arguments as yesterday, adding another new and serious difficulty because they entirely dissuaded the Laguna Indian from his intention to guide us, and compelled him to return to us what we had given him to guide us to his land. After arguing for more than an hour and a half, without succeeding in convincing the guide to accept what he had formerly received from us, and to fulfill his promise, nor in persuading them to stop opposing us, we told them with the courage necessary in such a contingency, that since the Laguna had willingly agreed to accompany us to his land, and since they had raised so many obstacles, we knew now certainly and clearly that they took the guide from us and

21. Evidently meant sarcastically.

hindered us; that we would not turn back no matter what they might do; and even without a guide we would continue; but if the Laguna did not accompany us, they would know from now on that we could not consider them as our friends.

With this warning they calmed down and the young man we mentioned before, a brother of the leader Yamputzi, spoke to the others and said: that since they had granted us the right to cross their territory, and since the Laguna had agreed to guide us, it was not fitting to hinder our journey, and they should stop discussing the matter. He was followed by another Indian who they said was also a leader, and who spoke in the same way. Then all of them told the Laguna Indian that he could not avoid serving as our guide. He, however, after what they had told him before, did not want to accompany us. After much entreaty and flattery, he accepted his reward, though with some reluctance and agreed to come with us. The village now started to change its camping site and to move towards Yamputzi's camp, at the same time that we started from the unpleasant place of San Antonio Mártir. We did not know the route we should follow, because the guide, regretting the agreement, did not want to come along or even to tell us the way. He stayed at the settlement with the horse we gave him under the pretext of looking for a saddle, and we continued the journey following the Sabuaganas, much against our will, because we wanted to get rid of them. We asked the interpreter to seek out the Laguna at the settlement and to try to encourage him. The interpreter did so, and since all the Yutas had gone, the guide now told us the route to follow and he sent back the interpreter to us to bring us to the place where he was staying. We found him there taking leave of his countrymen who remained with the Sabuaganas. These warned him how to apportion the day's journey each day. Besides the guide Silvestre we met here another Laguna, a boy who wanted to come with us. As we had not known his desire beforehand, we had not provided an animal for him, and so, to avoid further delay, Don Joaquín Laín took him behind on his saddle.

With pleasure we left the route taken by the Indians, and with the two Laguna Indians, Silvestre and the boy whom we named Joaquín, we continued our journey. Having gone back one league west of San Antonio, we took a different path. We marched less than a league and three-quarters to the northwest and more than a fourth of a league to the west-northwest and we stopped in a short valley of good pastures, near a brook of good water, which we named San Atanasio. We marched today over good ground, through poplar forests and undergrowths of small oaks for three leagues, which would have been not more than two leagues going straight. During the night it rained a great deal.

September 3. Early this morning it rained again and we had



to wait for the rain to stop, and about eleven o'clock we started from San Atanasio, going north. After a quarter of a league we followed a northwest course and went through a valley of many poplar and royal pine groves and abundant water and pasture for two and a quarter leagues. We changed to the north-northwest for about a league, then to the northwest for something more than a league and three-quarters, over ground which was somewhat hilly, but with good soil and without stones, passing through forests of pine trees, poplars, and heavy underbrush of low oaks. We turned again north-northwest for a fourth of a league along a low ravine, in which there is as much water as two medium-sized ditches can hold, and though it does not flow through the entire valley, because it is entirely hidden in some places, in others it flows and in still others it appears again in pools like rain water; nevertheless it seems permanent, because throughout the valley there were huts or little houses which were the dwellings of the Yutas. Following the bed of a brook in which the water hides itself to appear again on the northern bank, we walked northwest a league and a half and we stopped by it, almost at the foot of a hill which the Yutas call Nabuncari and which we named San Silvestre. We crossed seven leagues today.

**September 4.** We started from San Silvestre on a northwest course, following the same brook; after a short distance we directed our course toward the west-northwest and after going two leagues we changed to the northwest. We climbed a rather low hill, leaving the ravine on the south and going over hills covered by different kinds of furze [a spiny evergreen shrub], for more than a half league. We descended to another brook which flows into the ravine already mentioned. We crossed it and climbed another stony hill with some piñon pines, and after a fourth of a league, almost west-southwest, we came again to the brook. Here, beavers have built large reservoirs with branches, so that at first sight the brook looks like a fairly large river. Then along the southern bank and over a plain covered with a chamiso thicket, we walked about three-fourths of a league to the west and crossed it again to follow the route on the opposite side, leaving the southern bank. After crossing we went west-northwest; we crossed a portion of a mountain covered with piñon pines and we entered a chamiso thicket in which we found three Yuta women with a little boy, preparing the little fruits they had gathered for their meal in the ravines and brooklets [small creeks] around here. We approached them to speak with them and they offered us their fruits which were capulin [wild choke cherries], garambullo [wild red berries; buffalo berries?], limita [small wild citrus] and some piñons [pine kernels] of this year. The garambullo which grows in this land is very sour on the bush but after being put to ripen for some time in the sun, as these Yutas







did, it becomes sweet-bitter and very tasty. We continued our journey and after a league and a half west-northwest from the little brook, crossing another one near the Yutas at the end of which there is a stone dam of about five quarts like a trough for washing clothes, in which some of the animals slipped, we entered a little canyon of good pasture. Here the valley is joined by a road which, leaving Santa Mónica and the San Javier River, cuts straight through the Venado Alazán [sorrel deer] range which we had just descended, and this road is shorter by half than the one we had followed. We changed our course northwest along the valley for a half league or a little more. We changed course again west-northwest and after a half-league climbing and descending a rather long hill, steep but stoneless, we crossed a brook of very cold water and we stopped on its bank, naming it and the little valley of good pasture there Santa Rosalía. Tonight and the night before we felt very cold. We marched six leagues today (two hundred and one in all).

September 5. We left Santa Rosalía going northwest and climbed a stoneless but very steep and dangerous hill because there are turns in the path which are only a third of a yard wide. The ground is of smooth, loose soil, making it very easy for the animals to slip, and if they happen to lose their footing, they could not check their fall before reaching the plain below. The slope may be about a fourth of a league long, beside the half-league we had already climbed. We descended by a sloping valley which in some parts produces only undergrowth of small oaks and capulin [cherry] trees and in other sections fir trees and white poplars, and after little more than four leagues, going northwest, we entered a small woodland of juniper. Changing our course then for a half-league toward the north-northwest and going through a small chamiso thicket, we reached a river which our people call the San Rafael, and the Yutas call the Colorado. We crossed it and stopped on its northern bank, in a valley of good pasture and a fair-sized poplar grove. On this side there is a chain of high mountains, and from the top to the middle they are of white earth and from the middle to the foot they are uniformly striped with yellow, white and not very bright red ochre. This river, more abundant than the northern one, has its source, so they tell us, in a large lake which is in the range (towards the northeast) near the Grulla Mountains. Its course here is west-southwest and it joins the Dolores River. At the ford it is divided into two branches, and the animals could drink above the junction. Some people who crossed far above the ford had to swim in some places. As far as we could see, the river has a great many large stones and if an expedition has to cross it for any reason, it would be advisable to ford it on good horses. We walked today five leagues.

This evening we observed the latitude and we are at  $41^{\circ}4'$ ,

and judging that we had not gone so far up from Santa Mónica, and suspecting some defect in the observation, we decided to repeat it by the sun on the following day to avoid stopping here where the Sabuaganas might disturb us at the wrong time.

September 6. We left the valley and the San Rafael River (in which there is not what is necessary for a settlement) and went west, down the river for half a league, another half-league by some ravines west-northwest, leaving the river south of us; to the northwest a fourth of a league and over uneven, stoneless ground a league and a fourth west, a quarter to the west-northwest. We walked west-northwest about a mile and after two more leagues west through uneven stony ground and many low nopal [cacti or prickly pear] trees, we descended to a little valley through which a small river of good water runs. On its border, under the only poplar there is, at eleven o'clock we stopped, asking some companions to go ahead taking with them the horses and the pack animals.

We made observations by the meridian and found we were at  $41^{\circ}6'53''$  latitude and that there was no mistake in last night's observation. We reached the companions, who, having gone two leagues northwest, were waiting with the guide, with whom they were displeased, because after leaving a trail which went along the river toward the west, and which seemed, according to indications, more direct, he took us by another trail which enters a canyon and goes straight north, saying that although that trail went through the canyon toward the north it later turned toward the west. The companions, who understood the Yuta language, intended to persuade us that the guide Silvestre took us on that road either to delay us by the winding turns so that we would make no progress, or to deliver us over to some sort of ambush by the Sabuaganas, who might be waiting for us. To make us more suspicious of the guide, they assured us that they had heard many Sabuaganas at the settlement telling him to take us by a road which did not lead to the lake, and after holding us back for eight or ten days in useless detours to make us turn back; and although it was not altogether incredible that certain Sabuaganas had told him to do this, we never believed that the guide had agreed to it. Even if it had really happened that way, why had none of our companions ever spoken a word about it up to now? Besides they never failed in the settlement to exaggerate annoyingly other difficulties less dreadful and less likely and in any unfortunate event they run the same risks we run. We realized that going north we had a more winding road, but since Silvestre said that he took us by that road because by the other there was a very bad hill, we wished to follow his advice; but all the companions except Don Joaquín Laín joined forces to follow the other road; some because they were too much afraid, and without reason, of the Comanches,



and others because that course did not suit their own ideas which were no little opposed to ours. Then a Yuta Sabuagana of the most northerly tribe arrived and said that the northern route ascended too high. We therefore decided to go west and after two leagues, and having crossed another smaller river, we stopped on its bank, naming the place La Contraquí [the near or left horse in a team]. Today we covered seven leagues.

Here were three Sabuagana huts from which came six men to our camp, and among them one who had just arrived from the land of the Comanches Yámparicas, where with four others, they had gone to steal horses, and he said that the Comanches had gone back and according to their tracks they were going toward the Napeste River, or toward the east. This news gave some encouragement to our companions. These Sabuagana Indians were the last ones we saw.

**September 7.** We started from La Contraquí by a broad valley; going through it a league to the west we discovered a valley with much pasture land. We turned northwest along the same valley and after three leagues we stopped a while to let the animals drink because we did not know whether we would find water that night. Then we continued along the same course and after a little over a fourth of a league we turned north-northeast, climbing a hill so very steep that we thought we would never reach the top, because besides being very steep, in some parts, there was not even any sign of a trail, and being of very loose earth the animals could not set their hoofs with certainty anywhere. It may be a half a league high and on ascending there are banks of very weak slab on which two mules slipped and rolled down about twenty yards. But God willed that they did not drag anybody after them and the mules themselves escaped unhurt. We climbed up on foot and suffered a great deal from fatigue and many shocks. For this reason we named the hill the Cuesta del Susto [shock]. There the guide gave us an unquestionable proof of his sincerity and innocence. Reaching the top we went north-northwest for a half league, descending through a short valley. We stopped at a pool with a very limited supply of water. We named the place the Natividad de Nuestra Señora; there was some pasture for the horses there. Today we walked a little over five leagues and a quarter.

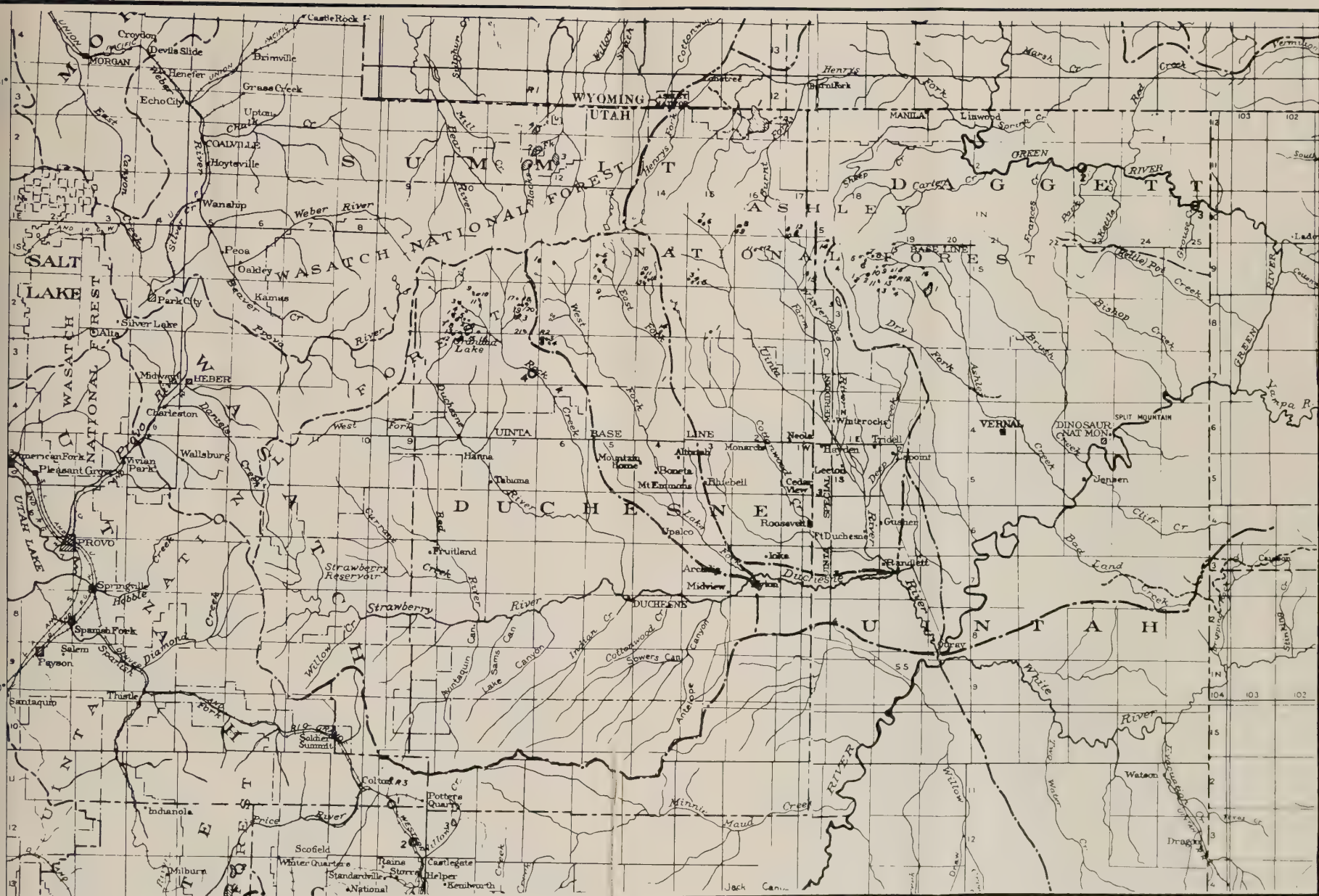
**September 8.** We started from Natividad de Nuestra Señora going north, and walked a half league, passing by a brook of good, constantly flowing water, and climbing a steep slope without banks and stoneless. We chose a better trail and terrain than yesterday's. We walked two leagues and a half northwest over spreading plateaus and through some poplar forests and arrived at the high summit, from which our guide Silvestre showed us the mountains, on whose northern slopes the Comanche Yámparicas live,

and who are to the north of the Sabuaganas. At the end of the same ridge, to the west of the place from which he showed it to us, are his people. We descended from the summit by a very high slope and in some parts very steep but stoneless and with a great deal of low oak and capulin bushes which are useful in keeping the animals from slipping and turning round. We entered a wide canyon of good soil and after going along the slope a league north-northwest we changed our direction north for a league and a half and we stopped to water the animals, because a large amount of the water flowing downward through the canyon is either reduced or dries up. In the afternoon we continued along the canyon following the brook down. After a league west-northwest we stopped, without any water, because here the brook has none, in an inlet of good pasturage which we named Santa Delfina. We walked five leagues today.

**September 9.** We left Santa Delfina along the same canyon and after a half league northwest, we changed our course to the north-northwest, having marched along the canyon nine leagues in this direction over a trail which was well traveled and had only one bad spot which can be avoided, by passing the brook a little higher up and crossing a forest of high chamiso thickets and rock-rose, which is commonly called *latilla*,<sup>22</sup> we left it behind. In the centre of this canyon towards the south there is a rather high stone on which we saw roughly painted three shields and the iron shaft of a lance. Farther down on the northern side we saw another painting representing, in not too clear a fashion, two men fighting. Because of this we named the place the Cañon Pintado [painted], and this is the only route by which one can go from the summit to the nearest river, because the rest of the ground between is very rough and stony. On this same side of the canyon, near the exit, a metal-bearing vein is seen, but we do not know the kind and the quality of this metal, although a companion picked up a stone from among those which had fallen from the vein and showed it to us. Don Bernardo Miera said it belongs to the kind which miners call *Tepustete* [iron pyrites] and which is an indication of a gold-bearing rock. About this we can say nothing definite; moreover it would require a more careful study than any we can afford to make now. After crossing the canyon we went a half-league north-northwest, and arrived at a river which we named the San Clemente. We crossed it and stopped on its northern shore on which there is a good valley with fine pasturage. This river is medium sized; it flows from here toward the west and the land in its vicinity is not suitable for a settlement. We walked today ten leagues.

**September 10.** Because, according to the interpreter, the guide assured us that the next watering place was far away, and even starting very early we could not reach it today, we decided to

22. Plant of the genus *Helianthemum*.



Map of Area between Green River and Utah Lake traversed by Escalante.

Drawn from map prepared by Ralf R. Woolley: "The Green River and Its Utilization." Water Supply Paper No. 618, U.S.G.S., Washington, D. C., 1930.

Courtesy Ralf R. Woolley





divide the day's march. So, after noon we started from the San Clemente River, marching northwest, over stoneless hills and short plains without pasture or trees and of very loose soil, and after a league we changed our route west-northwest over land almost flat but with many dry brooks and deep hollows, for two leagues, and because night was approaching and in the darkness the ground was impassable and dangerous, we stopped in the ravine of a brook which we named the Barranco [gorge]. It had neither water nor pasture and it was therefore necessary to watch the animals all night and keep them tied up. From the river here we walked straight and without a trail because, although there are several paths, they have been made by the bison which come down to spend the winter in these places. We walked today three leagues.

**September 11.** When it was broad daylight we left the Barranco, going west-northwest and having walked a league and a half through brooks and hollows [gullies], some of them deeper than those we saw yesterday, we found in one of them a little spring of water from which the animals could not drink. We continued our course west-northwest for a league and we climbed to a summit with a good and not too difficult approach, from which we walked three leagues over good land and fine pasture. We perceived in the distance a forest and we asked Silvestre if there was to be found there the watering place to which he was leading us; he said no, that that was a brook and not a river, but that it might possibly contain water now. We therefore went toward it and found enough flowing water for us and for the animals, which were by this time very fatigued through lack of water and food. One of the pack mules was so tired that we had to unload it to reach the brook. We changed our course a half league to the north. Today we made six leagues.

A short distance from the ravine we saw a fresh bison trail; on the plain we saw it still more clearly and that it followed the direction we were taking. By this time we were carrying few provisions, compared with the length of the journey we had to make, because of what we gave to the Sabuaganas and the Yutas. So, just before arriving at the brook, two companions left to follow the bison trail; a little after noon one of them returned saying they had found the bison. We sent other men ahead on the fastest horses, and by half past seven in the evening and after a run of about three leagues, they killed the bison and brought back a large amount of its flesh (much more than an ordinary large bull of the fields has). In order to prepare the meat so that the heat would not spoil it for us and at the same time to give the animals a rest, we stayed on the 12th in this place without traveling and we called it the Arroyo del Cibolo [bison]. It rained tonight for many hours.

**September 13.** We started from the Arroyo del Cibolo about eleven o'clock in the morning, along the plain at the foot of a low

ridge of mountains which the Yutas and the Lagunas call Sabua-  
gañi. It stretches from east to west and we can see its large white  
rocks from the high mountains which lie before the Cañon Pin-  
tado. After walking two leagues and three-fourths west, we  
reached the watering place known to the guide. It is a fountain  
of limited supply, and it is at the foot of the ridge, almost at its  
western end. We continued the same course for a fourth of a  
league along a much frequented trail near which, toward the south,  
we found two flowing fountains of clearest water, within gunshot  
of each other. We named them the Santa Clara Fountains. Their  
moisture produces much good pasture in the small valley to which  
they descend and where they die out. From here we marched a  
league northwest along the same trail and we crossed a brook,  
which comes from the Fuentes plain, in which there were large  
pools of water. From here down below, there is much good pas-  
ture in the basin, which is wide and flat. We crossed the brook  
again and climbed some low hills, somewhat stony in places, and  
after two leagues northwest we reached a large river which we  
named the San Buenaventura [good fortune].<sup>23</sup> Today we covered  
six leagues.<sup>24</sup>

23. Rocky Mountain Rivers and Buenaventura River.

(See map of Mexico and Freiberg map.)

There is a great amount of error and confusion in early narratives regarding far west-  
ern rivers, lakes, mountains and other topographical objects.

It appeared to be generally assumed that all rivers flowing westward from the Rockies  
eventually emptied into the Pacific Ocean. Students seemed to be completely unaware that the  
Sierras formed an impassable barrier to any such water flow.

San Buenaventura was the name of a saint and was applied to many places, streams,  
etc., in honor of this saint, without any particular thought of the meaning: "good advent-  
ure." Here is the story of San Buenaventura:

John Fidanza was born in 1221 at Bagnarea, Italy. Fidanza was said to be dying  
when he was a child and he was restored to health by the prayers of St. Francis.

Upon his restoration St. Francis cried "O buona ventura." Later the child entered the  
order of St. Francis and was named Buenaventura, and he incidentally became a Cardinal.  
His name was used by the Spanish Fathers in naming various places in their explorations  
in America. (For instance, on March 31, 1732, Fathers Junipero Serra and Pedro Cambon  
founded the Mission San Buenaventura, which is about sixty miles from Los Angeles, in  
the city of Ventura.)

The real Buenaventura River would seem to have been located beyond Great Salt Lake  
(probably the St. Mary—Humboldt River), and Escalante was in error when he assumed  
that the Seeds-kee-dee or Green River was the Buenaventura. He apparently fell into this  
error because of the description and location of the San Buenaventura River given by Fray  
Alonso Posada in his records, which records Escalante had studied and which he quotes in  
his Diary.—H.S.A.

24. Father Escalante was then on Green River just below Split Mountain and about  
opposite the Dinosaur National Monument. He clearly admits he only presumed this river,  
the Seeds-kee-dee of the Indians, to be the Buenaventura referred to by Posada, identified  
only by Posada's travel notes. Indeed Escalante seems to have been misled by Posada's  
data into disregarding the obvious inference from the great size of the stream that this  
was not a feeder or tributary, but was a principal or main stream.

Thus these earliest of references to Rio San Buenaventura are no more definite nor  
satisfactory than are the several subsequent references to this chimerical stream, which  
forever must be without a definite headwater, without an outlet, and apparently without a  
main channel!

Alexander von Humboldt in 1808 and in 1811, incorporating in his maps the Esca-  
lante-Miera data, ingeniously contrives to make the Buenaventura River cross the Uinta  
Basin (Utah) uphill and empty into Great Salt Lake, or Utah Lake; this was following  
Miera all too closely, since Miera did not have the facts.

Melish in 1816, Darby in 1818, and Goodrich and Finley in 1826, like some later map  
makers, roughly follow the Miera-Humboldt misinformation in the present Utah region,  
but they continue the San Buenaventura out of the lake westward to its mouth in the  
Pacific Ocean some 200 miles south of San Francisco. They also show on their maps the  
Timpanogos emptying into San Francisco Bay coming from Lake Timpanogos.

General William H. Ashley,\* May, 1825, says: "From the headwaters of Tewinty

\*See Appendix, pp. 123 to 128.

This San Buenaventura [Green] River, also Rio de los Cibolos [Bison], is the most abundant of all we have seen and it is the same which, says the report of Fray Alonso de la Posada,<sup>25</sup> who used to be Custodian of the shrine of Conversión de San Pablo de Nuevo-México, separates the Yuta nation from the Comanches', according to the indications he gives and the distance he places it from Santa Fé. And the river is indeed the boundary of these two nations on the northeast and north. Its course at this place is west-southwest; a little farther up it flows toward the west. It joins the San Clemente River, but we do not know whether it also joins the other rivers we passed. Here there is a valley rich in pasturage and good soil for planting and easily irrigated; it is perhaps something more than a league in width and it may be as much as five leagues in length. The river enters this valley through two steep hills [Split Mountain], which after forming a sort of enclosure are so close together that it is difficult to find the opening through which the river comes. There is no way of crossing to the other side, except by the single ford, which, according to our guide, is in the vicinity. This ford is on the west side of the northern summit, very near a chain of low hills of loose dirt, some of which is a lead color and some of it yellow. The bottom of the ford is of small stones and in it the water does not reach the bellies of the animals; while in every other place we saw, they could not cross it without swimming. We stopped on the southern bank about one mile from the ford. We named this place the Vega de Santa Cruz. We observed the angular altitude of the north star and found we were at 41°19' latitude.

September 14. We did not travel today, but stopped here in order that the animals, which arrived in a somewhat weakened condition, might rest. Before noon we fixed the quadrant to check

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River I crossed a range of lofty mountains nearly E. and W. which divide the waters of the Rio Colorado from those which I have represented as Buenaventura." Thus while Ashley, who had just been there, removes the name successfully from the Green, he follows earlier mapmakers and concludes the Weber, where he found himself, to be the Buenaventura. (See Dale, "Ashley-Smith Explorations," p. 153.)

Arrowsmith in 1834 lets the Buenaventura perish in what might be Sevier Lake, Utah, but gets out of a dilemma by naming the Sacramento "R. Buena Ventura N. Bra." That same year Laurie gave the name Sacramento to that stream, and moved "R. S. Buenaventura" to Nevada, letting it disappear in the Humboldt's Sinks, as does the Humboldt of today. At the same time he cautiously ascribes to a stream emptying into Utah Lake the name: "R. S. Buenaventura?" definitely placing the question mark after it.

Thus the stream died hard. Comes Farren Angus Ferris in 1836, who certainly knew his rivers, and does not mention the Buenaventura. Lapie in 1837 lists the name in a place or two but with the expression: "Ecoulement supposé." While Bartlett in the eighteen fifties, and some others, were inclined (for old times' sake?) to let a river empty into Monterey Bay called "R. Sabinos or Buenaventura," Colton and all other good map makers after 1845 followed the surveys of John C. Fremont and banished the name forever from the rivers of the Old West.—H.S.A.

25. Fr. Alonso Posada's report, written in 1686, was regarded, for many years subsequent to that date, as the most authentic source of information relating to the regions outside the settled portions of New Mexico, and particularly with respect to Quivira, Tequayo and other distant provinces.

Escalante had made careful studies of and had familiarized himself with many of the explorations which had been made into the territory which interested him so deeply. He had access to many documents relating to these explorations and discoveries, which, unfortunately, were destroyed during the Indian revolts in New Mexico, or have, during the years, disappeared for one reason or another, and which I have been unable to locate.—H.S.A.



our observation by the sun and found only  $40^{\circ}59'24''$ . We thought that this discrepancy might perhaps be caused by some change in the needle here, and to verify this we secured the quadrant, set for the north in the meridian of the magnetic needle until night. As soon as the north or pole star was seen and the quadrant being set in the aforementioned meridian, we noticed the needle moving northeast; again we took an observation for latitude by the north star and found it to be  $41^{\circ}19'$ , the same as the preceding night.

In this place there are six large black poplars which have grown in pairs, one poplar attached to the other, and they are the closest to the river. Near them there is a single poplar from whose trunk on its northwest side, Don Joaquín Lain chipped out with an adze [hatchet] a small fragment in the shape of a semi-quadrangular window, and with a chisel he engraved on it the following inscription: *In the year 1776*, and underneath in different letters: *LAIN*, with two crosses by its side, the larger cross over the inscription and the smaller one under it.

Here we succeeded in procuring another buffalo, smaller than the first one, although we could save little of the meat because it was killed late and far from our encampment. This morning the Laguna, Joaquín, for a prank, mounted a too spirited horse. While galloping through the valley the horse plunged its forelegs into a hole, and fell, sending the rider a long distance through the air. We were frightened, thinking that the Laguna was very much hurt by the fall. When he had recovered from his fright he cried a great deal, but the Lord willed that the poor horse received all the injury because it broke its neck.

**September 15.** Because of the accident we remained in the same place for the day.

**September 16.** We left the Vega de Santa Cruz [on the San Buenaventura River] and walked about a mile north [Spanish mile equals 2.634 English miles]; we reached the ford and crossed the river. We followed a westerly course and after a league along the northern bank and valley of the river, we crossed a smaller river [Rio de San Simon or Brush Creek] which flows down from the northwest. We followed it by the same valley; we changed our course to the south-southwest for a league, and we crossed another small river (Rio de San Tadeo), a little larger than the first one which flows down in the same northwest direction and joins the river. From both rivers by means of ditches, water for irrigation of this shore can be obtained. The soil is very good for planting, even were it impossible to bring to it the water from the larger river. We continued southwest, leaving the river which flows south through some hills and ravines consisting in parts of small stones; and descended to a dry brook by a high and rather steep hill whose other slope is not too difficult of ascent. After we reached the summit we found traces, one or two days old,







of some twelve horses and several men on foot, and exploring the neighborhood, we found signs that from the summit they had been following us and watching us for some time without leaving their horses. We suspected that they might be Sabuaganas who had followed us to steal our animals in this place, because it was probable that we would attribute the theft to the Comanches, rather than to the Yutas, because at the time we were in Comanche land, rather than in Yuta land.

Moreover, our guide Silvestre gave us serious reason for our suspicion from the night before, because, accidentally and carelessly, he went a short distance from the camp to sleep. Throughout the journey he had not worn the blanket we gave him, and today he left the place with it on, without leaving it off at all during the day, and we suspected that, having made an agreement with the Sabuaganas, he put it on so that he would be recognized in case they attacked us. Our suspicion was increased when we saw him stop for a while before reaching the hill where we found the tracks, standing somewhat confused and thoughtful, now wanting to go along the river bank, now to lead us the way we were going. We gave him no indication of our suspicion, hiding it entirely, and in the course of our journey he gave us satisfactory proofs of his innocence. We continued along the trail; we came down again to the San Buenaventura River and we saw that in its luxuriant popular grove and valley, which is situated here, those who made the trail had been very leisurely. We followed the trail along the valley, we crossed some low hills, and we stopped in another valley with good pasture, by the river bank. We named the place Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, and we walked over hills, gorges, slopes and valleys for six leagues in a southwest direction and we made eight leagues the whole day.

After stopping, two companions went over the path to the southwest to explore the neighboring land and they thought the Indians had been Comanches.

September 17. We left the valley called Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, traveling southwest. We climbed some low hills and a league farther on we left the trail we were following; continuing along it were the tracks of the horses and the men. Silvestre told us that they were Comanches who were following the Yutas who perhaps had been heard while hunting bison. We thought this to be true by the direction they were taking as well as by other signs they left. We crossed a dry brook, climbed a hill and after a league and a half west, over good soil, almost flat and dry, we reached a high summit from which the guide pointed out to us the junction of the San Clemente [White] and the San Buenaventura [Green] Rivers, which, joined, were now flowing south from here. We descended to the plain and the wide valley of another river and after another league and a half westward we

arrived at the junction of two medium-sized rivers which descend from the mountains near here and north of the San Buenaventura River and flow east as one over the entire plain until they empty into the San Buenaventura. The more westerly one, which flows southwest above the junction, we named the San Damián [Strawberry-Duchesne], the other flowing east we named the San Cosme [White Rocks River]. We continued up the latter and after a league west we saw nearby the ruins of a very old pueblo, in which there were fragments of grinding stones, jars and earthen pots. The town was very nearly circular in shape, according to the evidences of the ruins now almost entirely covered with earth. We changed our course southwest over the plain which lies between the two rivers. We climbed some hills of loose stone, very difficult for the animals whose hoofs were already bruised. We descended to another valley of the San Cosme River, and after a half league to the southwest, and a league and a half west through this valley, we camped there, naming it the Ribera de San Cosme. We made eight leagues today.

Shortly after stopping we saw smoke signals at the foot of the ridge. We asked the guide who he thought might be making them. He said that they might be Comanches or some of the Lagunas who were in the habit of hunting in this region.

September 18. We left the San Cosme River. The guide wanted to cross to the other side and travel along it, but he plunged us into an almost impenetrable thicket or bramble and into marshes, which compelled us to retrace our steps and to cross the river three times, making many useless turns, then along a plain near its valley we walked three leagues southwest; we changed our course to the west-southwest for a league; we crossed the river a fifth time and again we marched west. Now following along the valley of the river and now along a nearby plain we walked three and a quarter leagues. We climbed a summit that was not too high and flat on top with a great many stones. We walked about three-fourths of a league, including the ascent and descent, and crossed another small river which enters the San Cosme River near here, which we named the Santa Catarina de Sena [Duchesne] River, and we stopped on its bank. We walked nine leagues today.

From the settlement of the Sabuaganas and the place of San Antonio Mártir up to here we counted eighty-eight leagues; and from Santa Fé two hundred and eighty-seven.

In the vicinity of these three rivers which we crossed today there is good land, and sufficient for planting and easily irrigated. There are beautiful poplar groves, good pasturage, lumber and timber, not too far away, for three good-sized towns.

From the land of the Comanches there descends a long, high ridge of mountains, which runs northeast to southwest to the land



of the Lagunas, for a distance of more than seventy leagues, as far as we could judge. This range toward the north of the San Buenaventura River had its highest hills and summits covered with snow at this time of the year. For this reason we named it the Sierra Blanca de los Lagunas [Uintas?]. We shall begin to climb it tomorrow and cross over it at the point where it seems least high.

**September 19.** We started from the Santa Catarina de Sena River going southwest, without a trail. We climbed an easy, short, but very stony slope, and after a fourth of a league we went west. We descended to the bank of the San Cosme River and along it we traveled two and a quarter leagues, making various detours over ground almost impassable either because of the loose stone or because of the precipices and chasms. In one of these a horse was injured and this obliged us to go back about a mile and to descend to another valley of the river. We crossed this valley breaking through a thicket of rock-rose and tall reeds, and after a half league to the west we directed our course toward the northwest, using as a road the bed of a dry brook [arroyo]. We climbed the mountains and left the San Cosme River and continued along the arroyo which led us very gradually to a closed canyon, high and steep on all sides, without other means to continue our march than the bed of the arroyo. In the center of the canyon there is another brook which runs from north to south. We continued along the brook by which we had come northwest, and after four leagues on a west-northwest course, because of the many windings, we climbed out of the canyon which we named Golondrinas [Swallows] Canyon, because it contained the nests of many of these birds, placed so symmetrically that they look like small towns. We continued then through a chamiso thicket of good ground, and after a half league west-northwest we went west, climbing a gentle, wooded hill; after descending this hill we entered a plain cut through from north to south by a much traveled trail. Leaving the plain we descended by a high slope, stony and steep, to the watering place which we named the San Eustaquio, having covered two leagues and a half west. This watering place is abundant and permanent and around it there is good pasture. We arrived very tired, both on account of the painful journey and because throughout the entire day a very cold wind blew steadily from the west. We covered ten leagues today.

**September 20.** We started from San Eustaquio, leaving behind as dead one of the strongest horses we had had with us, the one which had broken its neck when it fell into a hole at Santa Cruz on the San Buenaventura River. We climbed southwest up a wide but not steep slope, then changed west, after somewhat less than three and a quarter leagues through a flat but difficult thicket of chamiso and much low nopal. We entered a short canyon, wide and extensive, and descended to a little river which flows east, and

is, perhaps, the same one we called the San Cosme. We crossed it and following a course west-southwest we climbed another easy slope. After a mile we went southwest for about two leagues, along a very pleasant valley with very rich pasturage. We camped at the end of a ravine in a strip of marshland with much pasturage; in its midst was a good spring of water which we named the Ojo de Santa Lucía. It was so cold last night that even the water, left all night by the fire, was frozen in the morning. Today we made five leagues.

**September 21.** We left Ojo de Santa Lucía, traveling southwest along the same ravine; we had just climbed through a forest of white poplars, and after a fourth of a league we went west for a league and three-quarters, now through troublesome thickets, now along low ravines of soft soil and with many small holes into which the animals sank and stumbled every now and then because they were hidden by the bushes. Then we descended to a medium-sized river in which is found in abundance excellent trout, two of which the Laguna Joaquin caught and killed with an arrow. Each one of them might weigh something over two pounds. This river runs southeast through a pretty valley with good pasture, many springs and picturesque forests of white poplar, not very tall or thick. In this valley is found everything necessary for a settlement. We called it the Valley de la Purísima, [The Most Pure Virgin; probably Strawberry Valley]. The guide Silvestre told us that in this valley a number of Lagunas had dwelt for a while. They depended on fishing as their main source of food and went away for fear of the Comanches who were beginning their incursions into this part of the country. After crossing the river and climbing a hill we entered the plain of the valley, and after a league south-southwest we changed to a westerly course along a ravine with much chamiso and where the going was difficult. Three-quarters of a league farther on we crossed a little river of very cold water. We continued west another fourth of a league and we entered a thick forest of white poplars, low oaks, capulin, and royal pine. In the same forest we went along the southern slope of a mountain ravine and after a league west, a quarter south, we reached the other side.

The guide, anxious to arrive [back in his homeland] sooner than was possible, went so quickly that every few minutes he was hidden from us in the woods and we did not know where to follow him, because, in addition to the density of the forest, there was no trail, nor could we recognize his tracks in places. We ordered him to proceed slowly and always within sight of us. We continued through the forest, which became thicker the more we advanced and after a half-league west, we left it behind and reached a very high hill, from which the guide pointed out to us the region where the lake lay, and to the southeast of it another section of the moun-



View of Mt. Nebo from Spanish Fork Canyon.

Sketched by George M. Ottinger,  
Pioneer artist, about 1865.





tain range which, he told us, was inhabited by many people of the same language and character as the Lagunas. Over this hill we went southwest for a quarter of a league and then we descended it going west, breaking through almost impenetrable thickets of capulin and low oaks, and passing another forest of poplars so closely grown that we did not think it possible for the pack animals to get through without first being unloaded. In this forest the guide started to worry us again by his speed, so much so that he compelled us to restrain him and not to leave him alone. In this dense wood Father Fray Atanasio struck his knee a hard blow against a poplar. We finally descended with great difficulty and effort to a deep, narrow valley and there, finding sufficient pasture (there is plenty of it in all these mountains) and water for us and the animals, we stopped after going west downhill for a league. We named the place San Mateo. We advanced today six and a half leagues. We were much colder last night than on the preceding nights.

September 22. We left San Mateo going southeast by the northern slope of this mountain glade in which there are many precipices and dangerous slides, without any trail but the one we were breaking over the rough and uneven places of the mountains. Through this region we were obliged many times to change our course and to make many detours. We can only say that we walked about five leagues climbing and descending hills and elevations, some of them covered with small stones. We descended by a gentle slope, flat and with much pasture, to a short plain between two rivers which make their junction here. After walking through the opening we traveled a league southwest. The animals were very tired; there was much pasture and therefore we set up camp and called the place San Lino. Today we walked six leagues, which, owing to the many detours, would be about three leagues from San Mateo, going west-southwest.

From the highest point of the last summit we saw many large smoke signals rising not far away in the same ridge and in front of us. The guide Silvestre said that the signals were made by some of his people who were probably out hunting. We replied with our own signals, so that if they had already seen us, they would not take us for enemies or flee, or greet us with arrows. They sent up bigger smoke signals in the pass through which we had to go to reach the lake; this made us believe that they had already seen us, because this is the most rapid and common method of warning used on any unusual occasion by all the tribes in this part of America. Therefore we warned Silvestre to watch carefully that night in case some of his people, who knew of our arrival, should come to our camp to see the kind of people we were. About two in the morning when we supposed that we might have one or several of them near-by, the guide started talking at length in his

language, giving them to understand that we were peaceful, friendly and good people. We do not know whether any one heard him.

September 23. Knowing now that we were approaching the lake, in order that Silvestre and Joaquin might enter their home country happy and attached to us, we gave each again a measure of woolen material and another of red cloth, with which they proceeded to adorn themselves. The guide Silvestre put on the blanket received earlier, like a cloak or cape, and the woolen material we just gave him like a wide sash around his head, leaving the two broad ends hanging loose over his shoulders. He rode that way looking exactly like the captives whom the Redemptionist Fathers show in their procession on the festival day of Nuestra Señora de la Merced. This chance resemblance seemed to us a happy presage of the kind temper of those captives for whose freedom we wished and asked the Redeemer of the world, through the intervention of His Divine Mother, who to encourage us in this, took the name by which the Church celebrates her today.

We left San Lino early, traveling southwest. We climbed a short hill and on top of it we found a large ant hill, all made of bits of alum stone, purified [pure] and crystallized. We descended to the little San Lino River, and after a league through its short valleys which are very flat, we went west down along the river. Here it is joined by another smaller river and along both rivers there are good inlets and everything necessary for raising cattle. Going west down river for three-fourths of a league, we saw and crossed three abundant springs of warm water, which we touched and tasted; it is of the same sulphurous warmth as the water near the pueblo of San Diego de los Hemes in Nuevo-México. We continued west another three-fourths of a league and entered the narrowest part of the river canyon and turned a mile to the north. Here are three more springs of water like the first ones [Castilla Springs?]. All of them have their source at the foot of an extremely high mountain, very close to the river on the northern shore, and they flow into the river. For this reason we named it the Río de Aguas Calientes [Spanish Fork River].

In this narrow part of the canyon there are some difficult places, but easily managed. We continued northwest for a half league and crossed to the other bank of the river; we climbed a small hill and we saw the lake and vast valley of Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Timpanogotzis (this is the name we will give it from now on) [Utah Valley]. We also saw that everywhere there were smoke signals rising in succession carrying in this way the news of our arrival. We descended to the plain and entered the valley; we crossed the river again and marching through its vast valleys and along its northern bank a little over a league, we crossed to the other shore and in one of its southern valleys, which we named the Vega del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús [Plain of the

Sweet Name of Jesus], we pitched camp. We walked five and a half leagues today.

We found the pasture in the valleys we were crossing recently burnt, and still burning in other near-by valleys. From this we suspected that these Indians had mistaken us for Comanches, or another unfriendly tribe, and as they had perhaps seen that we had horses with us they had decided to set fire to the pasture lands along our route so that the lack of fodder would compel us to leave the plain more quickly. But since the plain is very large and wide, they were unable to burn it all in such a short time, although they had set the fires at many points. Our small party therefore remained at the same place and as soon as we encamped Father Fray Francisco Atanasio set out for the first huts, together with the guide Silvestre, his companion Joaquín and the interpreter Andrés Muñiz. They galloped as fast as the horses could be driven to reach the place in the afternoon. Six leagues and a half north-northwest they reached the village. Some of the Indians came out to receive them with weapons in hand to defend their homes and families, but as soon as Silvestre spoke to them, all these warlike preparations were changed to sincere expressions of peace and affection. We led them back very joyfully to their poor huts, and after embracing them and assuring them that we came in peace and that we loved them as we loved our best friends, the Father gave them time to talk leisurely with our guide Silvestre who told them the story of what he had seen and observed.

From the time he began he spoke so very much in our favor, and of our purpose in coming there, that we could not desire anything better. He told them at length how well we had treated him, and of our love for him, and among other things he told them with great awe that, although the Lagunas had told us that the Comanches would kill us or would steal our horses, we had passed through the lands they most frequent, and had even found their very recent tracks, yet they had not come to us, nor had we seen them; thus proving what the Fathers had said, that God would preserve us from all our enemies, so that even should we travel over their land they would not hear us nor would we see them. He finished his speech by telling them that only the Fathers tell the truth, that in their company one might travel all over the earth without risk, and that only the Spaniards were good people. They were still further strengthened in this belief at seeing the boy Joaquín so proud in our company that he had no yearning for his own people and would not leave the Father, except to take care of the animals we had brought with us. He scarcely wanted to speak to them and by no means to remain near them, but always near the Father, sleeping the little time he had by his side. It was a thing worthy of admiration not only by his people but also by us, he being an



Indian boy from the most remote region who had never before this time seen either Fathers or Spaniards.

After they had talked for a long while on this subject, many people from neighboring camps arrived, and after giving all of them tobacco, the Father, through the interpreter and Silvestre, who already had some instruction, told them the reasons for our visit and that the main one was to seek the salvation of their souls and to show them the only ways in which they might attain this salvation, the principal, first, and most necessary one being to believe in only one true God, to love Him and obey Him in all ways, and to do everything contained in His Holy and Immaculate Law. He said that he would teach them all this more clearly and extensively, and that he would baptize them if they wished to become Christians, and that some Fathers would come to teach them, and some Spaniards to live among them; that in this case they would also be taught how to plant, and to raise cattle. By these means they would have food and clothes like the Spaniards. If they were willing to live as God directs, and the Fathers would teach them, our captain, whom we call the rey [king], and who is very rich and powerful, would send them everything necessary. If they became Christians our king would look upon them as his own children and would care for them as if they were his own people.

Then he told them that we had to continue our journey to find out what had happened to the other Father, our brother, and would need one of them to guide us to the next known tribe, which in turn would lend us another guide. Silvestre helped us a great deal during the parley. They listened with pleasure and answered that they were ready for anything, showing their great gentleness. Although two leaders had come, he who commanded the tribe was not near. The Father therefore requested that he be called. They answered that his house was far away and that he would come next morning. After that they went to their huts, and some of them remained all night in conversation with our Silvestre.

September 24. We asked our companions by the intermediary of Joaquín and another Laguna of ours to come from Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús to the hamlet where we were, and where were assembled the Indians of this and other settlements. They arrived a little before noon. The chief leader came early with the other two captains, several elders and many others. We repeated to them, with more details, what we had said before, and all unanimously answered that should the Fathers come, they would live with the Tatos (that is the name the Yutas give the Fathers), that the Fathers would command and teach them, that they offered the Spaniards all their land to build their houses where they pleased, adding that they would explore the land and would watch over the activities of the Comanches so that if these entered the valley



or the neighboring mountains, the Spaniards would know at once and all together would meet them and punish them.

Seeing such admirable gentleness and having accomplished our purpose, we told them that when our journey was finished, we would come back with other Fathers and Spaniards to baptize them and to live with them; but from now on they should think carefully about what they had just promised, so that they would not repent afterward. They answered that they were firm in what they promised, adding with many entreaties that we would not delay long in returning. We told them that although all of our people would believe what we would say about them, they should give us a token that they wanted to become Christians, to show to our great captain and to the rest of the Spaniards, so that they would better believe their good desires and would come sooner. We did this to judge better their inner thoughts. They answered that they would willingly give us this token the next morning.

Then we gave the leader, who was a nice looking man, a cutlass and some white beads, and Don Bernardo Miera gave him a small hatchet. To the rest we gave white glass beads, a few to each one because they were many. For this they were happy and appreciative. We reminded them of their promise of a guide and told them that if they were willing, we would take Joaquín with us, since he wanted to remain with us. They answered that they had already discussed the matter and decided that not only Joaquín, but also a new guide would come back with us when we returned; adding that none of them knew very well the land through which our course would take us, but with both of them, Joaquín and the guide, we would ask for information from the tribes along our way. This statement, so clear and complete, made in the greatest sincerity, filled us with an immense joy, and we were absolutely sure that without the least attempt at deceit and entirely of their own free will, inspired by divine grace, they admitted and desired Christianity. We placed before them the same objects we had given Silvestre, so that seeing them they would decide who should come with us as a guide. One of them accepted the presents at once, and he was considered from then on our guide and companion. We gave him the name of José Maria. After this we decided to continue our route the following day toward the settlements and harbor of Monterey.

They informed us that there was a sick boy there, and asked us to go and see him and baptize him. We went and finding him already grown up and almost recovered of his serious illness and out of real danger, did not think it expedient to baptize him. Afterward his mother brought him to our camp asking us to baptize him, but we consoled her by telling her that we would be back shortly and would baptize them all, both adults and children.

Finally we told them that we were short of provisions, and

that we would be very pleased if they would sell us some dried fish. They brought it and we bought a good third of it. All day and part of the night they kept coming and talking with us; and we found them all simple, docile, peaceful and affectionate. Our Silvestre was now looked upon with respect and he acquired a certain authority among them for having taken us to them and for being considered highly by us.

September 25. In the morning they came back and delivered to us the promised token of friendship, explaining to us what it meant, according to what we asked the day before. We warned the interpreter that neither he nor the others should say anything to the Indians about this in order to see what they of their own accord would give us. But while the token was being brought, a companion who did not know the order we had given saw the figures on the token, and showing the Indians the Cross of a rosary asked them to paint it on one of the figures. They took the token back and painted a small cross on each figure; the rest remained as it was before and they gave the token to us, explaining that the figure which on both sides had more red ochre (or blood, as they said) represented the chief-leader because in the battles with the Comanches he had received more wounds than the others. The other two figures which were not so covered with blood, represented the other two leaders, inferior to the first one, and the figure without any blood represented a man who was not a war leader but held authority among them. These four figures of men were crudely painted with earth and red ochre on a small piece of chamois [buckskin]. We accepted them saying that the great captain of the Spaniards would be very happy on seeing the token and that when we came again we would bring it with us for them to see how much we esteemed their present, and in order that the figures would remind them of their promises, and all we had agreed upon. We told them that if they had troubles with illness or with their enemies before we came back, they should call upon God saying: "God of Truth, help us, assist us." Seeing that they could not pronounce these words well, we told them to say only: "Jesús, María, Jesús, María." This they began to repeat easily, led very fervently by our Silvestre, and while we were getting ready for our departure, they never stopped repeating the holy names. The time for departure arrived, and all took farewell of us with signs of love; Silvestre especially embraced us, almost crying. They begged us again not to delay our return, saying that they would look for us within a year.

cesiamos, q nos vendieron un poco de pescado seco. Trajeronlo, y compramos un  
en tacio. Todo el dia, y parte de la noche estariaron riñiendo, y corriendo con  
nosotros, y a todos experimentamos en sus venidas, dociles, apacibles, y pacíficos. Y a mi  
y examinado con respecto, y lo pata autoridad entre ellos, p<sup>o</sup> tratanos de budo, y con  
medido de nosotros.

Dia 26 por la mañana bolvieron a concurrir, nos entregaron la  
causa explicandonos lo q contenia. Luego q ve la pedimos el dia ante cedon  
aditivamente al Intorparte, q en el pitor de mas difieren a los Indios con al  
manabre esto p<sup>o</sup> rax lo q ellos por vi producian; pero al traer la cosa, vio un  
pañero, q no habia el cadavero, le figurar de ella, y mostrándole la causa del  
zario les dio a entender, q la pinta q en vobte una de las figuras. Y entonces la  
volvieron a traer, y vobte cada una pintaron una cosa pequeña. Lo demostro  
con lo antes, y nos la dieron diciendo, q la figura, q por un giro mo lado tenia  
al magre, & como ellos decian q nte representaba al Cap<sup>o</sup> Mayor p<sup>o</sup> q en las  
tallas con los Comanches vivia recibiendo mas deidad: la otra d<sup>o</sup>, q no estubo  
en un momento a los otros 2 capitanes inferiores al primero: y la q no  
a vanga alguna, a uno, q no era Cap<sup>o</sup> de guerra, pero lo orade a la vobte en  
ellos. Estas quatro figuras de hombres estaban nudas pintadas con tierra, y alma  
en un conto pedazo de amura. Recitimos las diciendo, q el Cap<sup>o</sup> Grande de los  
pañoles tenia mucho gusto de verla, y q quando bolviermos, la hariamos de  
ex p<sup>o</sup> q riegan el aprecio, q de vobte haciamos, y p<sup>o</sup> q ella misma le acordase  
promesas, y todo lo q hariamos tratado. Difimosles, q mientras veniamos  
un poco un trabajo de enfermedad, de enemigos, clamaren a Dios diciendo: Dios  
dadere vobte, por vobte. Y riendo, q no podian articular bien las pa  
ras, les difimos, q vobte difieren: Jesús Maria, Jesús Maria. Esto empezaron a ce  
tia con facilidad, precediendo de vobte vobte nro Sr. E en inter nos p<sup>o</sup> venia  
para la partida no searon de repetiran vobte. Llego esta, y todos se  
pidieron de nosotros con gran feamura especialm<sup>te</sup> Sr. q nos abateo extracta  
cavi morando. Volvieron a encargarnos, q no tardavemos mucho tiempo en vol  
viendo, q dentro de un año nos esperaban.

Descripción del Valle y Laguna de N. de la Horced de los Timpa  
gutzin, o Timpano cuitzin, o Come-Pescada Todos estos nombres le dan  
la parte septentrional del rio de S. Pouern, como ya indicamos arriba, hai una  
ara, q en lo q alcanzamos a ver ve estionde de nro de aca vobte mas de To U  
e ancho, o haracia tendra p<sup>o</sup> donde mas lo, y por donde nosotros la pasamos. Lo  
esta vobte en la parte del oeste, y en los 40 p<sup>o</sup> 40 min como al nro de aca al  
te de la Villadev. <sup>ta</sup> Esta el Valle de N. de la Horced de los Timpano cuitzin  
cundado de la eminencia de Sierra. De las quales vobte a xist medianos, q  
añan corriendo p<sup>o</sup> el harto entran en la laguna, q tiene en medio. El plano  
Valle tendra de vobte a nro de 16 leg<sup>as</sup> españolas, q con las q en este diario  
mezamos, y de nro de aca vobte 12. Estaba el timpano, y a excepción de la  
negar, q estan a orillar de la laguna, de muy buena calidad de tierra c<sup>o</sup> pa  
o genen de riembra. De los 4 rios, q lo bañan, el primero aca el nro de aca  
a calienter: en cuya dilatada vobte ha itoneno suficiente de fuego para





*Description of the valley and lake of Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Timpanogotzis, or Timpanoautzis, or Come Pescado: all three names are used.*

On the northern side of the San Buenaventura River, as we said before, there is a ridge of mountains and from what we could see of it, it runs from northeast to southwest more than seventy leagues. In its widest part it is more than forty leagues, and where we crossed it, perhaps thirty. In this ridge, on the western side, at 40°49' latitude, northwest, a quarter north of the town of Santa Fé, is situated the Valley de Nuestra Señora de la Merced de los Timpanoautzis, surrounded by the highest peaks of the ridge from which four medium-sized rivers descend which irrigate the valley, flowing until they enter the lake which is in the center. The plain of the valley from southeast to northwest extends about sixteen Spanish leagues [one Spanish league equals 2.63 miles] (which are the kind we enumerate in this diary) and from northeast to southwest ten or twelve leagues. It is all clear land except for the marshes by the side of the lake where the soil is good for every kind of planting.

Of the four rivers which irrigate the valley, the first one on the southern side is the Aguas Calientes River [Spanish Fork], in whose extensive valleys there is ground enough, easily irrigated, for two large towns. The second river, going north, three leagues from the first one, is more abundant and can support a large town or two smaller ones, there being much good soil, easily irrigated. This river, before emptying into the lake, is divided into two branches. On its banks, in addition to the poplars, there are tall alder-trees. We named it the San Nicolás River [apparently Spring Creek and Hobble Creek]. Three leagues and a half northwest is the third river, of flat valleys with good soil for planting. It is more abundant than the two above mentioned; it has larger poplar groves and valleys of good soil with sufficient water to support two or even three large towns.

We spent September 24th and 25th by its bank and named it the San Antonio de Padua River [Provo River]. We did not reach the fourth river, though we could see its poplar groves. It is situated northwest of the San Antonio River, and it has on this side much flat and seemingly good soil. They told us it has as much water as the others, and therefore several settlements or villages could be established by it. We named it the Santa Ana River [American Fork River]. In addition to these rivers there are in the plain many springs of good water and several springs which issue from the mountains. What we have just said concerning the towns, meant giving each one of them much more land than it would really need; if each town should take only one league of land for cultivation, there would be as many towns in the valley as there are in Nuevo-México; so that even if we offer large

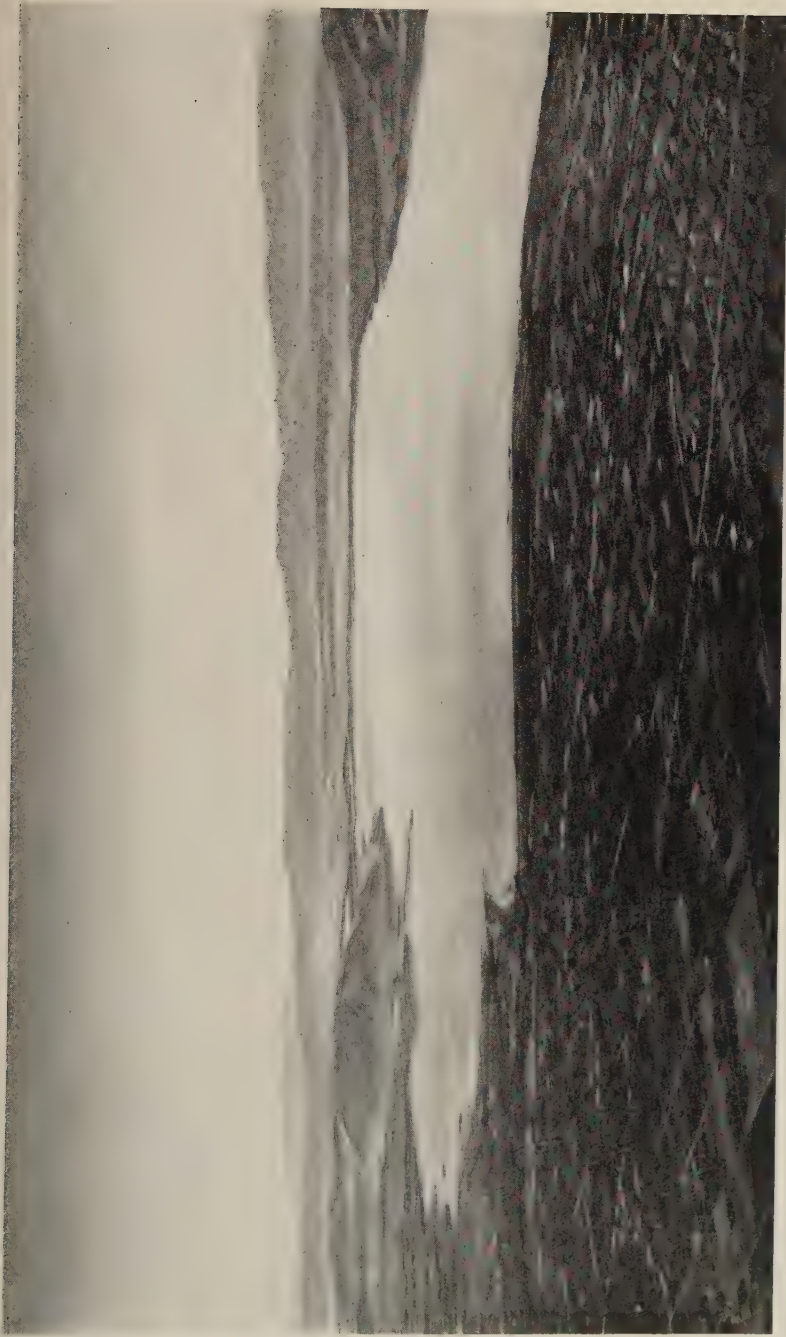
stretches of land on the upper bank, on the lower bank there are wide sections of good earth.

Throughout the valley there is much good pasture and in some places flax and hemp grow in such abundance that it seems as though they had been planted deliberately. The climate is also good here because after suffering from the cold from the time we left the San Buenaventura River, now, night and day, throughout the valley, we feel very warm. Beside these excellent natural features, the surrounding mountains contain sufficient timber and fire-wood, many shelters, springs and pasture lands to raise cattle and horses. All this is true of the north, northeast, east and south-east parts. On the south and southwest there are two other extensive valleys, also with abundant pasture and sufficient water. The lake extends to one of these valleys. It may be about six leagues wide and fifteen long and runs northwest. By means of a narrow opening, according to what they told us, it unites with others very much larger. The Timpanogotzis Lake is teeming with several kinds of edible fish, in addition to geese, beaver, and other land and water animals, which we did not see.

In the surrounding area dwell Indians who live on the abundant fish supply from the lake; for this reason the Yutas Sabuaganas call them the Come Pescado [Fish-Eaters]. In addition, they gather green seeds on the plain and make gruel with them to which they add their catches of hares, rabbits, and wild hens of which there are many around here; they also have buffalo not far away to the north-northwest, but fear of the Comanches keeps them from this game. Their dwelling places are huts or wigwams built of withes [willows], of which they also make unusual baskets and other necessary utensils. Their clothes are very poor, the most decent thing they wear is a jacket of chamois [buckskin] leather and high boots of the same material. For cold weather they have blankets of hare and rabbit skins. They speak the Yuta language, but with a marked difference in the pronunciation and also in some of the words. Their features are good and most of them wear heavy, thick beards. Many individuals of the same tribe, language and gentle disposition inhabit all the southeast, south-southwest and west of these mountains. With them an extensive and well populated province can be formed.

The real names of the leaders already mentioned are, in their language: the chief leader, Turuñianchi; the second leader, Cuitzapununchi; the third leader, who is our Silvestre, Panchucumquibirán (which means "talker"); the fourth, who is not a leader but a brother of the chief leader, Picuchi.

The other lake [Great Salt Lake] with which this one is connected, so they informed us, stretches for many leagues. Its waters are harmful or extremely salty, wherefore the Timpanois Indians assure us that anybody getting a part of his body wet, instantly



Utah Lake, looking southwest from the summit of Mt. Timpanogos.  
Escalante touched the Lake near the left (southeast) extremity.





feels a severe itching around the wet part. They told us that around it lives a populous and peaceful tribe named the Puaguampe (which in our tongue means hechiceros [witch doctors or wizards]). This tribe speaks the Comanche language, feeds on grasses, drinks from several springs of good water to be found around the lake. Their huts are built of dry grass with roofs of earth. They are not enemies of the Lagunas, according to what was hinted, but because on one occasion, when they approached and killed a man, they are not considered as neutral as before. On this occasion they entered through the last pass of the Sierra Blanca de los Timpanosis (which is the same range they inhabit now) by the north, a quarter northwest; and through this same pass they say that the Comanches make their visits, which do not seem to be very frequent.

The Timpanogotzis are named for the lake around which they live, which is called the Timpanogo [Rock or Rocky]. This is a strange name for this lake, because the name or word used to signify any lake is Pagariri. This lake may be six leagues wide and fifteen long as far as the narrow opening and its union with the other larger lake.

**September 25.** We started out about one in the afternoon from the first huts and the San Antonio River along the same way we took coming, and after three leagues and a half or a little more, we stopped for the night on the bank of the San Nicolás River.

**September 26.** We set out with the two Laguna Indians, José María and Joaquín, from the San Nicolás River. We reached the Aguas Calientes River, crossed it and after two leagues to the south, we stopped again on the same plain, by a brook of very good water, which we named the Arroyo de San Andrés [Salem Creek]. It seems to be constantly flowing water; therefore it seems more like a small river or a spring than an arroyo. Along its banks there is a type of fairly tall tree whose leaves nourish large numbers of small creatures, as foreign to our experience as the tree itself. Today we marched two leagues.

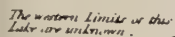
**September 27.** We left the Arroyo of San Andrés going south, and a league farther on over the plain we crossed another small river with as much water as in a medium-sized ditch. It flows on a level with the ground over which it passes, which makes the soil very good for planting. We continued south over the same plain for a league and a half, and went through the southern pass which we named the Puerto de San Pedro, and entered another extensive valley in which there are, close by to the east, the salt mines from which the Timpanois Indians take their supply. We named it the Valle de las Salinas, which is one of the valleys already mentioned. It may extend fourteen leagues from north to south, and about five from east to west. The whole of it is flat; it has very abundant springs and pastures, although only a small river runs through it.

In this valley there are numerous hens, of the kind we have already mentioned in this diary. We walked another four leagues south over the level part of the valley and we camped near a very abundant spring of good water, which we named the Ojo de San Pablo. As soon as we stopped, José María and Joaquín brought in five Indians from the nearby dwellings. We gave them food and tobacco and we made them the same proposal we made to the other Indians at the lake. We found them to be as gentle and affectionate as the others, showing great joy on hearing that more Fathers and other Spaniards would come to live with them. They remained with us until about midnight. Today we covered six leagues and a half south.

**September 28.** We started from the Ojo de San Pablo, traveling south. After four leagues we arrived at a small river which descends from the same eastern side of the mountains where, according to what they told us, the salt mines are. We stopped here a short while in the shade of the poplars on its bank to get relief from the great heat. We were scarcely seated when through a thick growth of willows approached eight Indians in great fear. Most of them were naked, except for a piece of chamois skin covering their loins. We spoke to them and they spoke to us, but without understanding one another, because the two Lagunas and the interpreter were traveling ahead of us. By signs we gave them to understand that we were peaceful people and their friends. We continued south and after three leagues we turned southeast a half league, another half league south and stopped in the same valley by a spring which we named the San Bernardino. We covered eight leagues today almost all south.

**September 29.** We started from the San Bernardino spring, going south-southwest, and met six Indians, and we talked a long while with them, by means of the interpreter and the Lagunas, and they listened to our exhortations with great attention. After walking two leagues and a half, we turned southwest, leaving behind the Salinas Range, which still continues south. Here we met an old Indian of venerable mien. He was alone in a little hut and his beard was so thick and long that he looked like one of the European hermits. He gave us information concerning a nearby river and some land which we had not yet explored. We walked southwest a half league and turned west-northwest through small glades and barren hills and after a league and a half we reached the river without seeing it until we were on its very bank, and we stopped in a valley of good pasturage which we named the Valley of Santa Isabel [Sevier River]. Here we took the altitude of the north star and found the latitude to be  $39^{\circ}4'$ . Today we marched four leagues.

After we had camped for a short while, four Indians arrived



A map of Aaron Arrowsmith, exhibiting all the new discoveries in the interior parts of North America. London. 1814(?).

"Lake Timpanogos (doubtful)" is without doubt Utah Lake and it opens into a suggested lake at the upper end, the far sides of which had not been seen, just as Escalante's notes say (p. 79).

Beside Lake Timpanogos is the interesting notation: "This Lake which is very little known is supposed to be the same with the Lake Teguayo from which some Historians think the Azteques passed to Rio Gila."

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from the other bank. We asked them to come into our tent; we entertained them and they remained with us all the afternoon. They acquainted us with the land they knew and the watering place where we would go the next day.

This river, according to the name these Indians give it, seems to be the San Buenaventura River, but we doubt this, because here it has far less water than at the place where we crossed it at  $41^{\circ}19'$ , and here, after it mingles with the San Clemente, it is joined by the San Cosme and the San Damián Rivers and by several smaller rivers. Moreover, it seems probable that when we crossed it at that height, Silvestre would have told us that this river flowed near his territory, as he told us other things concerning the mountains and rivers and lakes, which we found in accordance with his information, which included the river which flows by Santa Mónica.

September 30. Twenty Indians arrived at our camp very early, in the company of those of yesterday afternoon, all of them dressed in blankets made from hare and rabbit skins. They remained talking to us very happily until nine o'clock in the morning; they are as gentle and as amiable as the others. They have thicker beards than the Lagunas; their nose cartilage is pierced and they wear in the hole, as an adornment, a small polished bone from a deer, a hen or some other animal. In their features they resemble the Spaniards more than they resemble any of the other Indians so far known in America. They talk the same language as the Timpanogotzis. At this river and place of Santa Isabel, this race of bearded Indians begins, and perhaps that was the reason for the Spaniards telling us that they were on the opposite side of the Tiron [Tizon] River, which, according to various information, is the large river formed by the Dolores River and the others, which join the Navajó River.

We started from Santa Isabel at nine o'clock, crossed the river and went over a plain covered by chamiso thickets, very annoying to the animals. We went three leagues and a half to the south and entered a little canyon of easy ground, and a little farther on, came to a plain with abundant pasture but without water. After walking through it for a league and a half south we found behind some low hills a spring of water which we named the Ojo de Cisneros; near it there are two small trees which indicate the place. Today we walked five leagues south.

October 1. We left the Ojo de Cisneros, retracing our path for about a half league north; we turned south again and after a quarter of a league along a ravine partially covered with stones, climbing up about a mile over the ridge which follows south from the Salinas Valley, we turned southwest for a fourth of a league and we discovered a very extensive plain surrounded by moun-

tains, in which they told us the Santa Isabel River entered another lake. This river, after leaving the lake, follows a westerly course. After descending the ravine or pass we went west-northwest over low stony hills. After walking two long leagues we entered a chamiso thicket, and we walked three leagues west, without a trail, along the bank of a dry brook. We left the brook and having gone two leagues west, a quarter north, we descended to the plain. It looked to us as though there were a lake or a marsh nearby; we hastened our steps and we found that what we had thought to be water, was in some places salt, in others saltpeter, and in still others tequesquite [alkali]. We continued west, a quarter south, along the plain and the salt field and after walking more than six leagues we camped without having found any drinking water or any pasture for the animals, because they could not walk any farther. There was some pasture where we stopped but poor and scarce. In all the plain up to this place there was no pasture, good or bad. Today we covered fourteen leagues.

Two companions had gone ahead to look for water and they said that a league beyond this place they had seen some. With this welcome information we decided that as soon as the moon rose they would lead the animals, a few at a time, to drink, and they would bring back some water for the men. They did not happen upon the water they had seen and therefore, leaving two men with the horses, the other three went ahead to look for it, in the direction, they said, where the Santa Isabel River was [in relation] to us.

October 2. Dawn came without our having any news of the five men who had gone in search of the water, or of the animals. One of the two who had remained with the horses came at six o'clock in the morning unable to give us any information about his companion or the animals or the other men, because these two had fallen asleep. The animals, tormented by thirst, strayed away; the men awoke one after the other, and each one took a different route to look for them. At once Don Juan Pedro Cisneros set out riding a horse without a saddle to look for the animals; he trailed them for seven leagues, in the rear; that is about one-half of the previous day's journey, and he came upon them almost at noon. Soon after those who had gone looking for water returned with some Indians whose dwellings they had reached on the bank of the Santa Isabel River.

These Indians belong to the tribe of the bearded ones with pierced nostrils and in their language they are called Tirangapui. The five Indians who first came with their leader had beards so long that they looked like Capuchin or Belemnite friars. The leader was a man of mature age, though not old, and of pleasant appearance. They were happy talking with us, and in a very short while they became fond of us. The leader knew that one of our com-

The Long River or Dead River was discovered lately by the Baron Lahontan as far as is marked in the Map that which is more to the Westward was drawn by the Savages of the Nation of Onasitares on Bear Skins. Unless the Baron Lahontan has invented these things, which is hard to resolve He being the only Person that has Travelled into these vast Countries

The Nation of Mizeemlecks

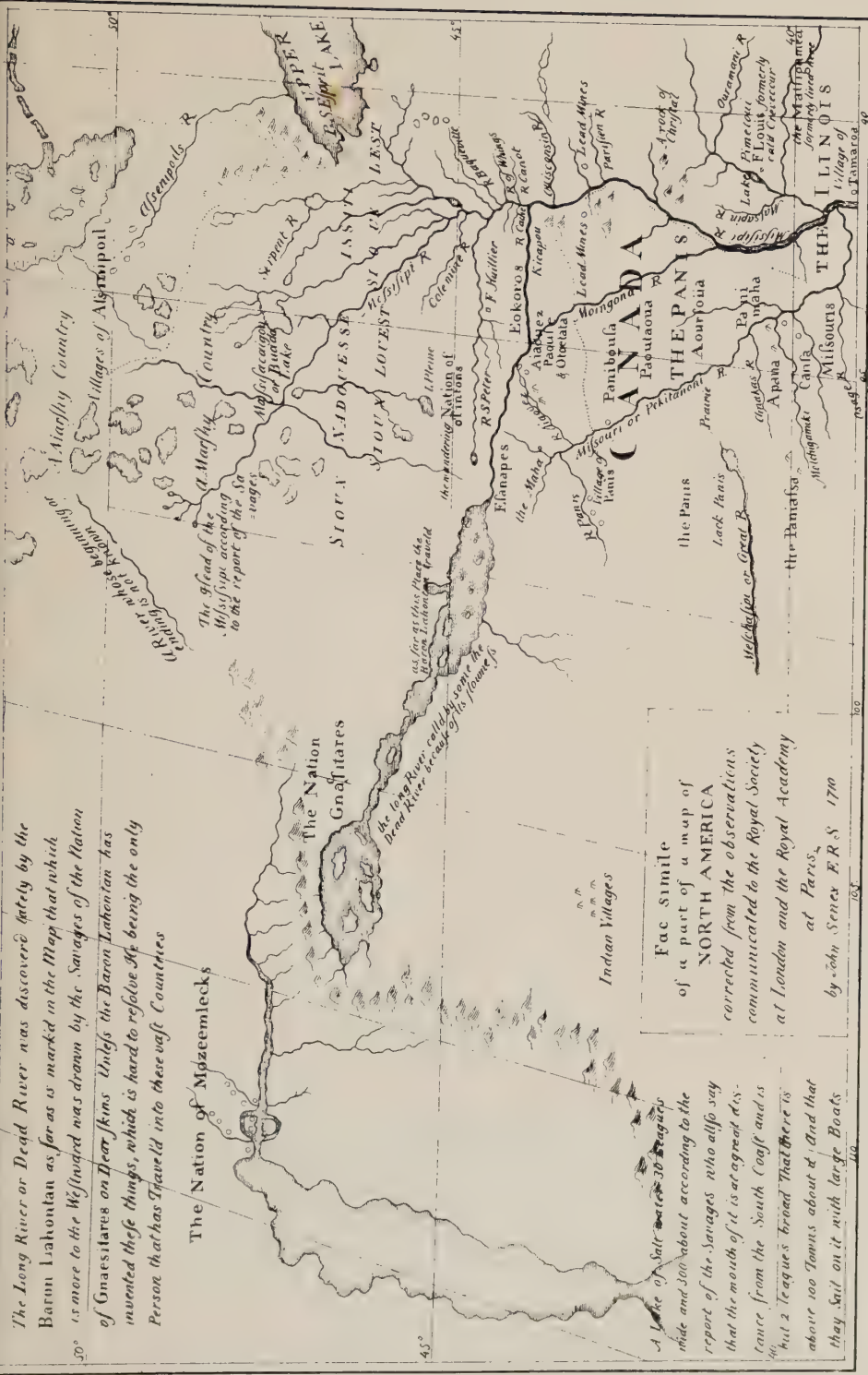
The Nation of Onasitares

as far as this Place the long River called Mississipi the Dead River the Country is famous for

Indian Villages

Fac simile of a map of NORTH AMERICA corrected from the observations communicated to the Royal Society at London and the Royal Academy at Paris by John Senex F.R.S. 1700

A Lake of Salt water 30 leagues wide and 100 about according to the report of the Savages who also say that the mouth of it is at a great distance from the South Coast and is but 2 leagues broad that there is above 100 Towns about it And that they sail on it with large Boats



Map of John Senex, 1810. Baron La Hontan's earliest of all references to Great Salt Lake in 1689.





panions was still missing. He immediately ordered four of his men to look for him on the plain and to bring him back to our place in the shortest time, and each one of the men was to follow a different route. This was an act worthy of our deep gratitude and admirable in people so uncivilized, who never before had seen people like us. Soon after the leader saw that the missing man was coming and very joyfully he informed us of this.

We started teaching the Gospel to them, as well as the interpreter could explain it, telling them of the Oneness [unity] of God, the punishment He reserves for the wicked and the reward in store for the good ones, and the necessity of being baptized and understanding and obeying the divine law. At this time we saw three other Indians coming toward us, and the leader then told us that those also belonged to his tribe, and asked us to postpone our conversation until they arrived, so that they might also hear what we had to say for their own welfare. When they arrived he told them that we were Fathers, and that we were teaching them what they should do in order to go to heaven and requested them to be attentive. He spoke so earnestly that even we, who knew only a word here and there of the Yuta language, understood what he was saying merely by the gestures he used, before the interpreter could translate it for us. We told them that if they wanted to obtain the proposed benefits we would come back with other Fathers, so that all of them might be taught like the Lagunas, who were already waiting for the Fathers; but then they should not live separated as they do now, but together in a pueblo.

All of them answered very happily that we should come again with other Fathers; that they would do whatever we might ask them and learn what we would teach them; the leader added then that if we so wished and considered it more fitting they would go and live with the Lagunas (that is what we had already proposed to them). We said good-bye to them and all of them, especially the leader, pressed our hands with signs of true affection. But they expressed their feelings even better when we were already on the point of departure. We had scarcely set out when all, in imitation of their leader, who began first, started shedding bitter tears, so that when we were already far off we could still hear the sad lamentations of these poor lambs of Christ, strayed away only through lack of enlightenment. We were so moved that some of our companions could not hold back their tears.

This place, which we named Llano Salado, because we found some thin white shells there, seems to have once had a much larger lake than the present one. We observed the latitude and found it to be  $39^{\circ}34'36''$ . This observation was taken by the sun, almost in the middle of the plain, which from north to south may be little less than thirty leagues and from east to west about fourteen. In most sections it is almost entirely lacking in pasture lands and

though two rivers enter it, the Santa Isabel from the north and a smaller one from the east, whose waters are very salty, we did not see any suitable site for a town.

In the afternoon we continued our route south-southeast, because the marshes and ponds prevented our going south, which was the direct route for the pass by which we had to leave the plain. After three leagues we camped near a hillock rising from the plain; we therefore named the place, in which there were marshes with good pasture but salty water, the Cerrillo. We walked today three leagues south-southeast.

October 3. When we left the Cerrillo we made several detours, because we were surrounded by marshes. We therefore decided to shorten the way by crossing the river on the east where it seems to disappear among the marshes and pools of the plain. This river teems with fish. The ford was muddy; the animal which the interpreter Andrés was riding fell into it and threw him into the water, causing him to suffer a hard blow on the cheek. With difficulty we got across and after six leagues south, a quarter west, over good flat land, we arrived at an arroyo which seemed to have much water, but we found only some pools where the animals could not drink without difficulty. Nevertheless, because there was good pasturage we stopped here. All about the arroyo there was a sort of white, dry, fine loam, which from far away looked like white linen spread out to dry. On this account we named it the Arroyo del Tejedor [weaver]. Today we covered six leagues south, a quarter west.

October 4. We started from Tejedor, climbing south, and after a quarter of a league we changed south-southwest for a while, and after a little less than five leagues we reached the southern pass. After we succeeded in leaving the salt plain, we found the same brook [arroyo] with more water and better tasting than yesterday's. We also found fine valleys abounding in good pasture for the animals which arrived very tired because the salty [saline] water they drank yesterday did them much harm. We stopped here, naming the locality the Vegas del Puerto. Today we covered five leagues.

October 5. We left the Vegas del Puerto, striking south, along the border of the same brook, and after two leagues we turned southwest three leagues and stopped in another valley which we named the San Atenógenes. We added five leagues today.

This morning, before starting from the Valley of the Puerto, the Laguna, José María, turned back without saying good-bye. We saw him leaving the place, but we said nothing to him nor did we allow anybody to follow him and bring him back, letting him act in perfect freedom. We did not know what reason he had for

his decision, although from what the interpreter told us later, José María was a little downcast, seeing us travel so far away from his land; but without a doubt an unexpected happening of the night before induced him to leave. This is what took place: Don Juan Pedro Cisneros called his servant Simón Lucero, so that he might recite the rosary to the Virgin Mary with him and the others. When he refused to come, the master scolded him, and while he was taking him to task for his lack of devotion, the servant attacked him and they came to blows. As soon as we heard the quarrel, from where we were reciting the Matins of the following day, we went up to them, but not soon enough to avoid José María's being frightened. We tried to persuade him that the men were not angry, and that when a father scolds his son, as was the case just then, they never reach the point of wishing to kill one another, as he thought, and that he should therefore not be afraid. Nevertheless, he went back, leaving us without a guide who, even from hearsay, might know the land ahead of us. We were very upset at the incident because we wanted to convert him before the others; and now it will not be possible to do this so soon.

After we stopped, two men went to see whether the western part of the ridge and a valley in it were passable and offered any hope of finding water and pasturage in the valley for the horses. It was night when they came back saying that they had not found a pass for crossing the ridge which was very rough and high along this route and that there was ahead of it a vast plain without water or pasture. For this reason we could not take this route which was the best one for Monterey, where we were going, and we decided to follow south until we crossed the said ridge through a very vast valley, which begins in this locality of San Atenógenes. We named it the Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Luz [Valley of Our Lady of Light]. Through this valley flows the Arroyo del Tejedor with adequate pools of good water and very extensive valleys rich in pasturage, which is very scarce in the valley.

During the past few days there has been a very cold wind blowing strongly and unceasingly from the south, which resulted in such a heavy snowfall that not only the tops of the mountains but all the plains were covered with snow last night.

October 6. The dawn came with snow, and the whole day it continued to snow and therefore we could not start on our journey. When night arrived and the snow still fell we implored the intercession of the Virgin Mary, recited in chorus the three parts of her rosary, and prayed to all the saints. We chanted the litanies, and the Lord so willed that by nine at night the snow, hail and rain ceased to fall.

October 7. We were not able to leave San Atenógenes today either, though we were very uncomfortable without firewood in the



extreme cold, because with so much snow and rain the ground, which is very soft here, was impassable.

October 8. We left San Atenógenes going south through the plain. We covered only three leagues and a half with great difficulty, because the ground was so soft and muddy that both the saddle and the pack animals, and even those which carried nothing at all, fell or sank into the mud. We stopped about a mile west of the brook, naming the place Santa Brígida, where we observed the latitude by the north star and found it was  $38^{\circ}3'30''$ . We traveled today three and a half leagues south.

We suffered greatly from the cold today, because all day long the wind continued to blow sharply from the north. Until now we had planned to arrive at the fortress and new settlements of Monterey, but believing them still far away because, although we had only to go down below  $1^{\circ}23'$  latitude, as far as Santa Brígida, we had not progressed toward the west, according to the daily course, more than one hundred and thirty-six and a half leagues, and according to the calculations we made, since we had not received from any of the people last met any information regarding the Spaniards and Fathers in Monterey, and on account of the great difference in longitude at which the different maps locate the harbor and city of Monterey, we still had many leagues more to travel toward the west.

Winter had set in with great cold and all the mountains which we began to perceive in all directions were covered with snow. The weather was very changeable and we were therefore afraid that long before reaching the passes through the mountains, they would be blocked up so that we would be forced to remain two or three months in some uninhabited mountain without any means of sustenance, because the provisions we brought were very limited by this time and therefore we were running the risk of dying from hunger, if not from cold. We also thought that even if we arrived this winter at Monterey, we could not be at Santa Fé until June of next year. This delay, together with other necessary delays in an affair of such importance as ours, might prove very harmful to the souls of those who, as we mentioned before, were hoping for their eternal safety by means of Holy Baptism. Seeing so much delay in doing what we had promised, these people would consider their hopes frustrated or would think that we had deceived them deliberately, all of which would make more difficult their conversion in the future and also the extension of the authority of His Majesty in these lands. To these difficulties was added the fact that the Laguna, Joaquín, terrified and troubled by so many misfortunes and emergencies, might mislead us and return to his land, or to other people he might know, like the other one did. Taking all these points into consideration, and that, traveling south from Santa Brígida, we might find a shorter and better road than the







one taken by the Sabuaganas to go from Santa Fé to Timpanois Lake and to these other bearded Indians, and perhaps some other tribe until now unknown to us, who might always have inhabited the northern bank of the large river,<sup>26</sup> we decided to go south, as soon as the ground permitted, as far as the Colorado River, and from here to Cosnina, Moquí and Zufi.

*New Route and Beginning of our Return from  
38° 3' 30" Latitude.*

**October 9.** We started south from Santa Brígida and after traveling six leagues with less difficulty than we had yesterday, because the ground was less soft and not as wet, we stopped near an angle formed by the valley and large plain of Nuestra Señora de la Luz, from which the valley broadens and continues for many leagues to the southwest. We named the place San Rústico, where without the necessity of going near the brook to get water nor to its valleys for pasture, we found everything good. The water was rain water and not a permanent flow. We covered six leagues south today.

**October 10.** We left San Rústico going south, and traveled a league and after three more leagues south-southwest we climbed a short, low hill in the middle of the plain to see with our own eyes the extent of this valley and plain of Nuestra Señora de la Luz. We climbed the hill and saw that from here toward the southwest the valley extends over thirty-five or forty leagues, and that the mountain chains in which it ends in this region were scarcely visible, although as we later saw more clearly, they are very high. We also saw three springs of hot, sulphurous water on the top and on the eastern slope of the said hill, and at the foot of the hills there are small portions of nitrous [saltpeter bearing] ground. We continued along the plain and after two leagues south we stopped for fear we would find no water farther on for this night. Here we had much good water collected in pools from the melting snow, as well as good pasture. We named the place San Eleuterio. Today we marched six leagues.

The bearded Yutas range as far as this place on the southern side and it seems that their land ends here.

**October 11.** We left San Eleuterio traveling south, a quarter east, and allowed two of the companions to go ahead in order to confer on the most suitable means we should take for making Don Bernardo Miera, Don Joaquín Lain and the interpreter Andrés Muñiz forget their displeasure over our action in leaving the route to Monterey to follow the present route, which we now thought the most convenient, and in accordance with the most holy will of God for Whom we only desired to go on, and for Whom we were

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26. Colorado River.

ready to suffer, and if need be, to die. We had shown them the reasons for our new decision in Santa Brígida, and instead of listening to our reasons they turned their thoughts against us, and therefore, from this place on, they became very undisciplined. Everything was extremely vexatious to them and everything frightfully troublesome. All their talks had only one topic, that of the fruitless results of such a long journey, because for them there was no compensation in having discovered such large tracts of land and people so very ready to join the Lord's flock, and in having added land to the domains of His Majesty (may God keep him!), or in having explored such vast provinces, hitherto unknown, or finally in bringing almost assuredly another soul into the bosom of the Church. The salvation of a soul is a greater reward and more worthy of longer journeys, of greater trials and tribulations, and we had gained a great deal in even attempting again to go to Monterey.

But they listened to nothing of all this, because the first one of those mentioned above had built up, without reason, great hopes of honor and profit merely by his arrival at Monterey, and he had inspired the others with these same hopes, erecting many high towers of wind in the air, and now he assured them that we were taking from them these benefits, so great in his imagination, so that even the servants gave us plenty of trouble. A short while before this decision of ours, Don Bernardo said that we had advanced very little toward the west, and that we still had much ground to cover before reaching Monterey; and now, even the servants were sure that we would be in Monterey within eight days.

Many times before leaving the city of Santa Fé, we had explained to each and every one of our companions that on this journey we had no other purpose than to please God; nor did we have any worldly interest; and that any one of them who might intend to trade with the Indians or carry out his personal ideas, abandoning the one aim of this enterprise which is and has been for the greater glory of God and an extension of the true faith, would do well not to continue in our company. During the journey we warned them several times to change their ideas, because otherwise we would undergo many difficulties and mishaps and we would not accomplish all we planned, as they themselves could verify in part, in such a way that, if they do not open their eyes to the evidence, they will never blame it on an accident.

Nevertheless they vexed us more every day, and we were greatly grieved to see that in heavenly affairs they were first and foremost interested in the earth. So that the cause of God might be more justified, and that they might understand more clearly that we changed our plan neither from fear nor from stubbornness, we decided to give up entirely the heavy burden of our thoughts, and having implored Divine mercy and the intervention of our patron



saints, we decided to inquire into God's will again by means of a lottery, putting in one ballot Monterey and in the other Cosnina, and following the winning route. We joined the companions and asked them to dismount from their horses.

When they were all gathered together Fray Francisco Atanasio explained to them the inconveniences and difficulties which continuing the journey to Monterey had presented at that time, and what we might gain by returning to Cosnina, and finally the errors and delays we would have experienced before this if the Lord had not become tired of some of His plans. He warned them of all the evils which would assail us should we now continue on to Monterey, especially of the straying or returning home of our guide Joaquín. He warned them also that if the lottery favored Monterey, Don Bernardo Miera would be the only leader, since he considered the town so near, and since all the trouble was caused by his ideas. Then he exhorted them briefly to banish all kinds of evil thoughts, to submit themselves entirely to God's will, and to ask Him in firm hope and lively faith to disclose His will to us. All agreed like Christians and very devoutly they recited the third part of the rosary and other prayers, while we recited the penitential psalms with the litanies and other orisons which follow them. After that we cast lots and the Cosnina ballot won. We all accepted this decision, happily and willingly, thanks to the Lord.

We continued to hasten our steps as much as possible, and after ten leagues from San Eleuterio, two south, a quarter east, three south-southeast (leaving the plain of Nuestra Señora de la Luz), a quarter southeast, one and a quarter south-southeast, three and a half southeast, over very good soil, then passing through a forest of nut-pine and juniper by way of a broad valley with much pasture and then some hills well provided with pasture, we descended to a beautiful valley and we stopped at nightfall near a small river in one of its valleys which have extensive pasture lands. We named the valley and the river after Señor San José. Today we marched ten leagues.

We observed our latitude by the north star and found it to be  $37^{\circ}33'$ .

*The Journey from  $37^{\circ}33'$  Latitude and the Diary Continued, and the Route from the Little Señor San José River to the Colorado River and Cosnina.*

October 12. We started from the little Señor San José River in which we found several small marshy places. We crossed a large marsh with much water and pasture through which flows some water like a brook. After crossing it, going northeast, we marched south along the western border of the valleys of the plain and having walked over good ground for four leagues and a half, we saw our companions who were walking ahead of us leaving

the trail in haste. We quickened our steps to learn the cause and when we reached them they were talking to some Indian women whom they had stopped because they were hurrying away until they saw our companions talking to other women who were gathering grass seeds on the plain, there being about twenty of them in all. We felt sorry for them, seeing them so frightened that they could not even speak, and we tried to dispel their fear by means of the interpreter and the Laguna Joaquín. When they had somewhat recovered from their fright they told us that in this area there were many of their own tribe, that they had heard that toward the south people wore blue garments or cloaks, and that the large river [Río Grande]<sup>27</sup> was not very far away from here. We could not find out exactly what tribe might be wearing these blue garments or cloaks, nor form any definite opinion about it, because we knew that the Payuchi Indians wore only red clothes. But then it occurred to us that the Cosninas buy blue woolen cloth in Moqui and we therefore thought that they were telling us about them; from which we concluded that we were near the Colorado River and Cosnina.

These women were so poorly clad that they wore only pieces of chamois leather hanging from their waists, which barely covered them, and which scarcely hid that which one could not look upon without peril. We sent them to their huts asking them to tell their people that we came in peace, that we would harm no one, that we loved everybody and therefore that their men might come without fear to the place where we were going to camp. We continued along the plain and valley of Señor San José and after three leagues south, we saw other Indians who were running away. We sent the interpreter with the Laguna Joaquín and another companion to try to bring one of these men to our camp, which was now nearby, so that we might know whether the Río Grande was as near as the women had assured us, and to see whether one of them would accompany us, as our guide, to Cosnina. They ran so fast that our men could scarcely stop one of them. Don Joaquín Láin brought him in on his horse to the place where we were encamped. After another half league south we stopped near a small river which we named the River of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza, near which there was, as in all the rest of the valley, much good pasture. Today we covered eight leagues south.

This Indian, whom, as we have just said, our companions brought to the camp, was rather bright, but he was so frightened that he seemed like one demented. He looked at everything and at everybody, and every one of our movements frightened him beyond measure. We tried to find out what he was hiding in his extreme fear, and he was so attentive when we spoke to him and he answered so quickly that he seemed rather to guess our ques-

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27. Colorado River.

tions than to understand them. He grew a little calmer; we gave him something to eat and a ribbon which we put on him ourselves. He had a large, well-made hemp net which he said he used to catch hares and rabbits. We asked him from whence these nets were obtained and he answered from other Indians who live below the great river,<sup>28</sup> from whom, we later learned, were also brought shells of different colors,<sup>29</sup> and according to the distance and the direction at which he located them they seem to be the Cocomaricopa Indians. With regard to the distance to the big river [Rio Grande] and the blue garments, he said the same thing as the Indian women, adding that some garments of dyed wool he wore he had bought that summer from two men who had crossed the river who belonged to that tribe which wears the blue garments in question.

We asked him in different ways about the Cosninas, but he could not give us any information about them, either because they give them a different name or because he perhaps thought that if he admitted knowing them we would carry him off by force so that he might lead us to them, or finally because he really did not know them. We asked him whether he had heard that in the west or northwest (pointing out these directions to him) there were Fathers and Spaniards,<sup>30</sup> and he answered "no," that although there were many people living here, all were of his own language, and Indians as he was. We showed him a grain of corn, and then he said he had seen it cultivated, and that on a farm which we would reach the next day there was a little of this seed which they had brought from where they planted it. We did our best to know what kind of people those were who already planted corn, and other things about which he was giving us jumbled information. The only thing we could learn was that they inhabited this side of the Rio Grande near another small river. He spent the night with us willingly and promised to guide us to the farm he mentioned.

**October 13.** We left the small river and site of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, traveling south, accompanied by the Indian, to whom we had promised a cutlass if he guided us to a place where we might find other Indians. We marched two and half leagues south and we arrived at the farm mentioned above, which was his own. There were on it an elderly man, a young man, several children, and three women, all of them good looking. They had good pine kernels [piñon nuts], dates and several small bags of corn. We remained a long while in conversation with the old man, but he only told us what the others had said. We gave the Indian who had guided us here the promised cutlass and proposed that if one of the three men was willing to guide us to those who were said

28. Colorado River.

29. See footnote 33, page 87.

30. This is authenticated in miscellaneous letters of Escalante. See footnote page 23.  
—H.S.A.



to plant corn, we would pay him well. By their answers we knew that they were still suspicious, and very much afraid of us, but at the urging of our companions, we put in front of them a cutlass and some hundreds of glass beads. The old man seized these, urged on by his overwhelming suspicion of us, and he offered to guide us to get rid of us, as was evident to us later on, and to give his family time to run away in safety to the nearby mountains. We continued our journey, accompanied by the old man and the other Indian, who had spent the preceding night with us. We walked a league and a half south, descended to the little Pilar River which here has a thick grove of poplars. We crossed it, leaving the valley of Señor San José and reached a stony hill, which lies between two high ranges in the shape of a pass. In the roughest part of this hill, both guides disappeared and we saw them no more. We praised their cleverness in having led us to a place suitable for the certain and unrestrained execution of their plans, which we had already guessed from their fear and from the way they agreed to guide us. We continued without a guide and after a league south, with many difficulties on account of the many stones, we descended a second time to the same Río del Pilar and camped on its bank and in its poplar grove. We named the place San Daniel. Today we covered five leagues south.

The Valley of Señor San José, which we have just crossed, is located in its more northerly section in  $37^{\circ}33'$  latitude. From north to south it is about twelve leagues and from east to west over three leagues in some places, two in others and still less in others. It is very rich in pasturage; it has large valleys and medium sized marshes and enough very good soil for a town for seasonal planting, because, although there is not enough water to irrigate more than a few fields near the two small rivers of Señor San José and Pilar, the great moisture of the ground can supply this lack, because there is so much moisture in the greater part of the valley that not only the meadows and low ground, but even the high ground now had pasture as green and fresh as the most fertile river valleys during June and July. Very near its course, there is a great deal of lumber [timber], pine nut wood and royal pine and several good sites for cattle and sheep ranches.

The Indians who inhabit this valley and the surrounding region on the west, north and east, call themselves Huascari; they dress very poorly [scantily], eat grass seeds, hares, pine kernels in their season and dates. They do not plant corn, and from what we saw, their means of subsistence are very limited. They are extremely timid and different from the Lagunas and the Barbones [bearded Indians]. Their land joins that of the Barbones on the north and the northwest and they use the same language, although there are some differences. Here, at San Daniel, the ridge of the Lagunas ends, which runs south from the Salinas val-







ley to this place, and from here to the Rio Grande. The land is extremely poor, and there are signs that there are many minerals.

October 14. We left San Daniel, going south, a quarter west, along the western side of the river. We left the river for a while and after two leagues over hills of white and very shining sand, very stony in parts, we passed two abundant springs of good water which empty into the river. We turned south over ground covered by Malpais stone, which is somewhat like slag, but heavier and less porous; [rough surfaced stone resulting from the weathering of a congealed lava stream], which was not very troublesome, because it was mixed with sand, and after two more leagues we descended a third time to the river and stopped on its shore, naming the place San Hugolino, where there was very good pasture. Hereabouts the land is more temperate, because in spite of the heat we felt yesterday, last night and today the poplars by the river were so green and luxuriant, the roses and flowers which grow here so fresh and colorful, that they showed plainly that frost had not yet touched them. We also saw mesquite bushes, which do not grow in cold regions.

October 15. We left San Hugolino, traveling along the western bank of the river and the slope of some nearby hills, and after two leagues and a half south-southeast we turned again to the bank and the vicinity of the river. Here we found a good basket full of green corn with corn husks heaped on them. Near it on the flat ground and shore of the river were three small fields of corn with well planned ditches for irrigation. The little heaps of corn, already gathered this year were still intact, for which we were extremely happy, because of the hope it gave us of being able to provide ourselves with a supply of corn for the journey ahead, and mainly because it was a sign that these people took an intense interest in farming, and to discover all this was so much gained for the future when the Almighty orders that they be converted politically and religiously, since we know how difficult it is to interest the Indians in farming, and how difficult their conversion becomes because of their dislike for this type of work, so necessary for life, especially under political and social organization.

From here down the river and on the flat summits on both sides of the river, for a long distance, as we learned, live these Indians who cultivate corn and squash and call themselves Parussi. We continued down river toward the south, and after a half league we turned southwest, leaving the river, but a high perpendicular gorge forced us to retrace our steps more than a quarter of a league, until we came again to the river which in this part flows southwest. Here two other small rivers enter it, one coming from the north-northeast and the other from the east. The latter carries mostly warm, sulphurous waters, therefore we named it the

Río Sulfureo [Virgin River]. There is here a fine grove of large black poplars, some weeping willows and large wild grapevines.

In the territory we recrossed there are ashpits, veins and other indications of minerals and many stones with traces of talc. We crossed the Pilar and Sulfureo Rivers near their junction and walking south we descended a low tableland between cliffs of black, shiny rock. On the top, we went on over good, open territory, crossed a short plain with a ridge of very high mountains on the eastern end, and on the west hills covered with chamiso (which in Spain is called brezo [heather]) and red sand. On the plain we could have gone along the border of the tablelands and finished our day's journey over good flat land; but those ahead of us changed route to follow the fresh tracks of some Indians, and they took us over hills and across sandy lowlands where our animals grew very tired. We marched over these hills for three leagues, traveling southwest (having previously walked over the plateau and plain two leagues southward).

We changed and went south for a little over two leagues and we saw a short valley surrounded by hills, one of which we found ourselves unable to descend to the valley. There was on it neither water nor pasture for the animals which by now were unable to move a step. We did our best to descend by a high summit, rough and very stony. After three-fourths of a league south we camped after sunset by an arroyo where we found large deposits [accumulations, pools] of good water with enough pasture for the horses. We named the place San Dónulo or Arroyo del Taray because there were trees of this kind [tamarisks]<sup>31</sup> here. Today we walked ten leagues, which in a direct line would be seven south, a quarter west. We observed the latitude by the north star and we found it to be 36°52'30".

In addition to the tamarisk there is in this plain or little valley much hediondilla [wild rue], which is a medicinal plant, according to experiments made in Nuevo-México. The provisions gave out completely in the evening, leaving us only two small slabs of chocolate for the morning.

October 16. We started out from San Dónulo with the idea of following a southerly route as far as the Colorado River; but a short while later we heard people shouting behind us, and looking back to ascertain where the shouts came from, we saw eight Indians on the low hill near the place we had just left. These hills rise from the center of the plain, cross it almost entirely, and contain much transparent gypsum and talc. We went toward the Indians, asking the interpreter, who was ahead of us, to come with us. We arrived at the foot of the hill, and gave them to understand that they might descend without fear because we came in peace and were their friends. At this they took courage and des-

31. Tamarisk is a shrub or low tree with capsular fruit containing numerous seeds.



cended, showing us, for trading, some strings of chalchihuites [turquoises],<sup>32</sup> each one with a colored shell.<sup>33</sup> These gave us something to think about, because from below, the strings of chalchihuites looked like rosaries and the shells like saints' medals. We remained with them for a short while, but they spoke the Yuta language so differently from all the rest that neither the interpreter nor the Laguna Joaquín could understand them entirely or even much of what they said.

Nevertheless, by means of signs and because in some respects they spoke the Yuta language more like the Lagunas, we understood them to say that they were all—except for one man who spoke more in an Arab-like language than in Yuta—and we thought him to be a Jomajaba Parusis Indian, and they are the ones who plant along the banks of the Pilar River and live down the river for a long distance. We took them for Cosninas Indians but later we perceived that they were not. They offered us their chalchihuites strings in trade. Telling them that we had nothing with us but that if they wished they might come with us until we overtook the rest of our company, when we would give them what they wanted and we would talk leisurely. They all came along very happily, but those who were a little better informed and more intelligent could not banish a certain fear and suspicion. We made a halt and we talked for more than two and a half or three hours. They told us that in two days we would reach the Rio Grande, but that we could not go the way we wanted because there was no watering place along the way, nor could we cross the river here because it flowed in a very narrow and deep channel and on both banks there were very high cliffs and precipices; and finally they told us that from here to the river the ground was very bad.

We gave them two cutlasses, and to each one a string of glass beads, then we proposed that if one of them wanted to guide us to the river we would pay him. They answered that they would put us on the right road along a canyon which was on

32. Turquoise was used by the Indians for personal ornaments and decorations, for money, and for objects used by them in religious ceremonies.

In Pueblo Bonita, in Chaco Canyon, in northwestern New Mexico, a variety of turquoise beads, necklaces, rings, pendants, bracelets and other jewelry and ornaments were uncovered; also some very interesting objects, the surfaces of which were inlaid with turquoise mosaic work.

Ancient Indian workings of turquoise deposits are known and some are still being worked in the Los Cerillos Mountains of New Mexico; in the Burro Mountains in the Silver City area located in the northeast corner of Grand county, New Mexico; in the mountains in Cochise county and Mohave county, Arizona; and also in southern Nevada. From the size of these workings, it is evident that great quantities of turquoise must have been taken out through the years, and turquoise evidently was a highly prized possession, and had in the eyes of the Indians a great talismanic value, as well as a deep decorative appeal, being used for charms and fetiches against evil and witchcraft.

The Navajo Indians believe the turquoise to be sacred to the Wind God. When they are anxious for the wind to stop blowing so that rain may fall, the Navajos make offerings of turquoises to the Wind God.

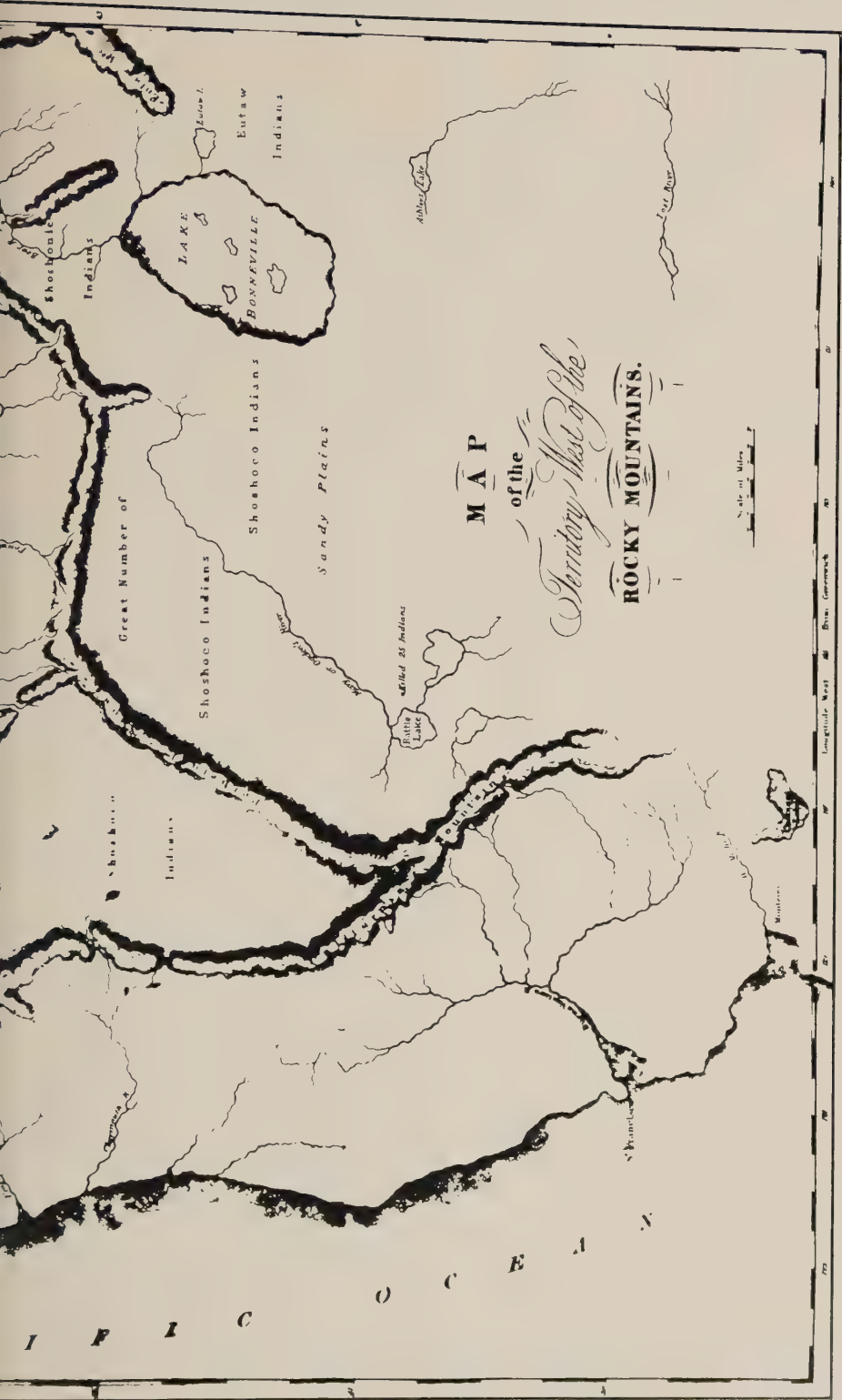
Some claim that a contributing reason for the revolt of the Pueblo Indians in 1680 was a big landslide that maimed or buried alive many Indians who had been compelled by the Spaniards to labor in the turquoise mines. Others deny this.—H.S.A.

33. A little shell from the sea coast, used by the Indians for necklaces and ornaments. White, pink and black shells were especially prized by the Indians, who intermingled the colors for contrast. Turquoise was frequently combined with the colored shells.—H.S.A.

the eastern side of the plain, and from there we could go on alone, because they were barefoot and could not walk much. We did not want to give up the southern route to the river, in spite of their statement, because we suspected that the Moquinos might be at odds with the Cosninas on account of their having carried off from them Father Garcés; and because they were afraid that other Fathers or Spaniards might be brought to Moqui they hoped to dissuade them from it by threats, and they now intended to misdirect us so that we would not reach the Cosninas nor the Jama-jabas, their neighbors. But, at the insistence of all our companions, to whom we did not yet wish to reveal our suspicions, we finally agreed to follow the canyon. We offered these Indians, to induce them to accompany us, leather soles for shoes. They said that two of them would come with us until they put us on a good straight road.

We entered the said canyon with them and went through it for a league and a half, with the greatest difficulty and slowness on the part of the horses, because of the flint and pebbles, and the frequent difficult and dangerous spots. We reached such a narrow place that it took us more than half an hour to induce only three of the saddle horses to enter it. This was followed by a rocky slope so steep that even on foot it would be difficult to climb. When the Indians saw that we could not follow them they ran away, driven doubtlessly by their childish timidity. We were therefore compelled to go back and take the southern route again. But first we stopped for a while to let the animals eat and drink, but the water here was so poor that many of the horses refused it. In the afternoon we went back the whole length of the canyon and after a half league over the plain southward, we camped near the southern pass to the valley, without any water for us or for the animals. We were very hungry that night and there was no food of any kind. We therefore decided to take the life of a horse in order to save our own, but having no water we postponed the execution until we found some. Today, after such a painful journey, we only advanced a league and a half toward the south.

October 17. We continued our route southward. We crossed the entrance to the valley over the bed of a ravine, in which we found a pool of good water and all the animals drank. We walked south two leagues and turned southeast for two more, and found in another arroyo a large pool of good water, not only once but many times. Although it is rain water which collects during the freshets, it seems not to dry up all year. Here we found some of the herbs called quelites. We thought we would be able to satisfy our pressing hunger with these, but we could only gather a very few and those were very small. We continued southeast and after four and a half leagues over good flat ground, but somewhat soft, we camped to see whether in the drainings from the hills we could



From Washington Irving's "The Rocky Mountains," Vol. 2, Philadelphia, 1837. It is obvious from this map that Capt. Bonneville never saw Utah, nor did his cartographer.





find some water to boil the herbs and give Don Bernardo Miera some nourishment. Because, like the rest, he had had nothing to eat since yesterday morning, he was so weak that he could scarcely talk. We examined the saddle bags and other luggage in which we had carried the provisions to see if we could find any remnants, and we found only a few pieces of squash which the servants had bought yesterday from the Parusis Indians and had hidden to avoid being compelled to share them with the rest of us. With this and a little piece of piloncillo [boiled sugar] which we also found, we made a cooked dish and we all took some nourishment.

We found no water to enable us to spend the night here and we decided to continue our journey south. Our companions, without informing us, went to explore the eastern plateau and ground which starts here. Those who went on this exploring party came back telling us that the ascent to the summit was very easy and that beyond it there was flat ground with many brooks, in which there should be water, and that the river seemed to be at the end of the plain, beyond the plateau. At this news all were inclined to change the route. We well knew that, as on similar occasions, they were wrong, and that in such a short time, they could not possibly have seen so much. We were of the opposite opinion, because going south we had much good flat ground under our eyes, and had found today so much water, despite the statement of the Indians, and we had traveled a day's journey over good land, that all this incurred our suspicion. But as we were now without food and the water might still be far away, and because in enforcing our opinion, we would not make less intolerable the hunger and thirst which might occur on both routes, for our own good we told them to follow the course which to them seemed the best one to take us to the plateau in a southeast direction, climbing it by a rough drain [channel] or stony brook, where there is gypsum stone of good quality of the kind they use for white-washing. We finally climbed the plateau by a rough slope covered with much black stone. Night fell and we camped on the plateau on a small plain with good pasturage but without water. We named it San Angel. Today we covered nine leagues.

We were very sorry to have changed our course, because according to the altitude where we were, going south, we would have reached the river very soon. After we camped, those men who had already been on the plateau told us that they thought they had seen water not far from here. Two of them went to fetch some for the men, but they did not return all night. At dawn of the next day there was still no sign of them. We finally decided that they had continued their way looking for Indian camps in which to get something to eat. For this reason and because there was no water here, we decided to continue our journey without waiting for them.

October 18. We started for San Ángel going east-southeast

and after a half league we changed east, a quarter south, for two leagues over hills and rocky ravines, and finding no water, we turned east, a quarter north for two leagues, climbing and descending stony hillocks very troublesome for the animals. Five Indians stood watching us from a short but rather high plateau. When the two of us who were traveling behind the other companions passed by them at the foot of the hills, they spoke to us. When we turned toward the place where they were, four of them hid themselves and only one remained in sight. We realized his great fear of us and we could not persuade him to come down; and therefore we climbed, both of us, on foot with great difficulty. At every step we took to approach him he wanted to flee. We gave him to understand that he should not be afraid of us, that we loved him like a son and wanted to speak to him. At this he waited for us, making a thousand gestures to show that he was very much afraid of us. When we had climbed to where he was, we embraced him and seating ourselves near him we made the interpreter and the Laguna come up. Recovered from his fright, he told us that there were four more Indians in hiding, and that if we wished he would call them, so that we might see them. When we told him that we would like to see them, he put his bow and arrows on the ground, took the interpreter by the hand and went with him to fetch his companions. They came and we talked to them for about an hour. They told us that now we had water nearby. We begged them to show us the place, promising them a piece of woolen cloth, and after many entreaties three of them agreed to come with us. We continued our route with them, extremely weary from hunger and thirst, traveling southeast for a league, and south another league along a poor stony road. We reached a little hill of junipers and an arroyo in whose steep hollows we found two medium-sized pools of good water. We took enough water for ourselves, and brought up the animals which were so thirsty that they drank all there was in both pools. We decided to stay here for the night, naming the place San Samuel. We covered six leagues today.

The three Indians who came with us were so afraid of us that they did not want to walk ahead of us or even let us get close to them until they spoke with the Laguna Joaquín, and from what he told them about us they quieted down. Among other things they asked him, greatly admiring his courage, how he dared to come with us. He, who wanted to quiet their fears, in order to satisfy the hunger he was suffering on our account, answered them as best he could and therefore succeeded in dispelling their fear and suspicion. It was for this reason no doubt that they did not leave us before we reached the watering place. When we set up our camp we gave them the woolen cloth promised, with which they were very much delighted. Knowing that we came without provisions





Route of Father Escalante, showing his camps, 1776-1777.





they said that we should send one of our men with one of theirs so that they might go to their huts, which were rather far away, and bring back some food. The others would remain with us in the meantime. We sent one of the half-breeds [genizaros] with the Laguna Joaquín, giving them some things to trade for food and pack animals on which to carry it. They set out with the other Indian and after midnight they returned, bringing a small amount of wild goat, some dried prickly pear made into a cake, and some grass seeds. They also brought news of one of the two men who the night before had gone in search of water, saying that he had been in this hamlet. The other one had returned tonight about ten o'clock.

October 19. Twenty of these Indians came to our camp with some prickly pears in a cake and several bags of seeds of different herbs for us to buy. We paid them for what they brought and asked them if they had meat, pine kernels and more prickly pears, to fetch them, and that we would buy everything, especially the meat. They answered that they would, but that we would have to wait until noon. We agreed and they went away. One of them offered to accompany us to the river, if we remained here until the afternoon, and we agreed. After midday, there came many more Indians than had been with us before, and among them one who said he was a Mescalero Apache and that he had come with two others from their territory to this one, having crossed the river a few days before. His face was rather disagreeable and he was different from the other Indians in that he looked upon us with dislike, and because of the greater courage he purposely displayed, or so we thought. They told us that these Apaches were their friends. They brought no meat but several bags of the seeds mentioned before, and some fresh prickly pears, ripened in the sun, and others dried in cakes. We bought about a bushel of seed and all the prickly pears.

We talked a long while about the distance to the river, the best road to follow, the provisions we might find on the way, the neighboring tribes, and about the guide we were asking for. They showed us the way we had to take to the river, giving us some confused details concerning the ford and saying that we would reach it in two or three days. They told us that they were Yubincariri Indians and that they did not sow corn; that their food consisted of these prickly pears, seeds, and the pine kernels of which they gather very little, since they live frugally and on what hares, rabbits and wild goat they can get. They added that on this bank of the river only the Parusis Indians sowed corn and squash. On the other bank there were the Ancamuchis Indians (by which they meant the Cosninas) and that these sowed much more corn. In addition they gave us the names of other tribes, their neighbors on the south-southwest on this westerly bank of the river, and

they were the Payatammumis Indians. They also told us about the Huascaris, whom we had already seen in the Señor San José Valley. Concerning the Spaniards in Monterey, they did not give the slightest indication that they had ever heard of them. One of those who spent the preceding night with us, gave us to understand that he had heard of the Reverend Father Garcés'<sup>34</sup> journey, which together with the denial of all of them that they knew the Cosninas (if they do not know them by the name Ancamuchi) seems to prove what we said we had suspected. After the talk, they started to leave, without our being able to secure any of them to guide us to the river.

Don Bernardo Miera had a pain in the stomach today, and therefore we could not start from here this afternoon. A short distance away we found other pools of water for the night.

October 20. We left San Samuel, going north-northeast toward the ford of the Río Colorado, and avoiding a low, forested hill with many stones, this side of the ford, and after a little over two leagues, we changed our course northwest and entered a flat and stoneless ground. After another four leagues we found in an arroyo several pools of good water. A league east-northeast farther on, we camped on its bank between two low hills rising from the plain near the arroyo where there was abundant water and pasture. We named this place Santa Gertrudis. We took the latitude by the north star and found it to be  $36^{\circ}30'$ . Today we advanced seven leagues.

October 21. We started from Santa Gertrudis, going east, and after a half league, we went northeast. We crossed the Santa Gertrudis arroyo several times, which in most spots had great pools of water, and after walking over poor ground and making several detours for five leagues and a half northeast, we traveled without much difficulty through some chamiso thickets over good ground. After four leagues or a little more east-northeast, we finally camped at night near a little valley with good pasture, but without enough water even for the men. Lorenzo de Olivares, impelled by thirst caused by eating too many of the seeds, pine kernels and prickly pears that we bought, went off after we had camped, looking for water in the nearby arroyos, and did not reappear all night long, which gave us a good deal of worry. We named the place Santa Bárbara. Today we covered ten leagues.

October 22. We left Santa Bárbara, going north-northeast, looking for Olivares, and we found him, two leagues away, near a small pool of restricted water which was only enough for the men to drink and to fill a little barrel which we carried, in case we found no water that night. We continued along the plain and after four leagues going northeast, we saw a path going south. The interpreter having said that the Yubuincariris Indians had told him

34. See footnote page 40.

that this is the route we should take for the river, we followed it; but after a league south along this road, we discovered that the interpreter had made a mistake in the signs, because a little farther on, the path turned back and we therefore started to climb, going east, the ridge we had planned to avoid, which runs from north to south along the whole eastern side of the plain. We crossed it with great difficulty and fatigue on the part of the horses, because in addition to its many fissures, it is very stony and flinty.

Night found us descending the other side of a very rough and very stony hill, from which we saw below, on the opposite side of the plain, several fires. We thought that the interpreter Andrés and the Laguna Joaquín, who had gone ahead looking for water for the night, had built them so that we would know where they were. But when we had finished the descent and had gone on until we left the path, five leagues east-northeast, making some detours among the valleys of the ridge, we reached the fires where there were three small Indian groups, and with them our interpreter and Joaquín. We decided to stay here for the night because there was, a short distance east and west, water and pasture for the animals, which by this time were almost spent. We named the place San Juan Capistrano. We walked twelve leagues today.

Since it was already night when we arrived at these camps and the Indians could not see how many people were coming, they were frightened, and in spite of the assurances of the interpreter and the Laguna Joaquín, almost all of them ran away when we appeared. There remained only three men and two women, who very sorrowfully told our Laguna: "Little brother, you are of our people; don't let these men with whom you come kill us." We embraced them and tried by all the means we could possibly think of, to allay the suspicion and fear they had of us. They quieted down somewhat, and trying to humor us, they gave us two roasted hares and some pine kernels. Two of them, still very fearful, went to show the water hole to the servants, so that the animals might drink. This place is east of the northern end of the little ridge, near a number of hills of red earth; south of them close by on top of rocky hills with pine and juniper trees there are two good pools of rain water; but on the way to them there is a little arroyo which also contains some pools, but these are small and the water is not good. West-southwest of the same hills at the foot of the ridge, there is also a small spring of constant [flowing] water.

After retiring to rest, some of our companions and Don Bernardo Miera among them, went to one of the huts to talk with the Indians. They told them that Don Bernardo was sick, and an old Indian among those present, whether because our people asked him, or because he wished to, started to cure him with chants and rituals, which, if not openly idolatrous, are at least totally super-



stitious. All our people permitted these ceremonies with pleasure, and among them the patient, and praised them with gracious remarks, when they should have put a stop to them as being opposed to the Evangelical and Divine Law which they supposedly profess—or at least should have gone away. We heard the Indians' chants but did not know what their purpose was. In the morning they told us what had taken place. We were very sorry for such harmful carelessness, and we reprimanded them, instructing them so that another time they would not approve by their voluntary presence, or in any other way, similar errors. This is one of the reasons why the heathens, who have most to do with the Spaniards and the Christians in these parts, resist the truths of the Gospel more, and their conversion daily becomes more difficult.

We were preaching to the first Sabuaganas whom we saw about the need of Holy Baptism while the interpreter, in order not to displease them, or to lose their old friendship, when they invited them to come for the vile trading in skins (even against the lawful prohibitions of the governors of this kingdom, sent to them over and over again forbidding any half-breed or Indian to enter the land of the heathens without obtaining a special permit from the governor of his state) translated the formal order to them as follows: "The Father says that the Apaches, Navajós and the Comanches who are not baptized cannot enter Heaven and must go to Hell, where God punishes them, and they will burn forever like the wood in the fire." The Sabuaganas were very happy at hearing themselves excluded; and their enemies included, in the absolute necessity of becoming baptized or of perishing forever. The interpreter was reprimanded, and seeing his harmful want of belief discovered, he decided to reform.

We could add other cases heard from the same people who have witnessed them among the Yutas; and perhaps have applauded and even cooperated in many idolatrous acts; but the two cases mentioned above are enough. Being in our company, having heard us repudiate and condemn many times these idolatries and superstitions, nevertheless if they watch them, encourage them and applaud them, what will they not do living two, three, or four months among the heathen Yutas and Navajós without anybody to correct and restrain them? Besides, some of them have given us sufficient reasons on this trip to suspect that if some go among the Yutas and remain so long with them because of their greed for pelts, others go and remain attracted by the flesh, which they have there for their brutish satisfaction. In either way they become blasphemers of the Name of Christ, and prevent or rather oppose the spreading of the Faith. How severely should similar evils be treated! May God in His infinite goodness inspire us with the most convenient and efficacious means!



**October 23.** We did not travel today, in order to give the Indians here time to quiet down, and so that those in the vicinity might come. The grass seeds and the other provisions we bought and ate did us great harm and we became weaker instead of gaining strength. We did not succeed in getting them to sell us some of the regular meat, and we were therefore compelled to slaughter a horse, and prepare the flesh to take with us.

Father Fray Francisco Atanasio was very sick today with a severe intestinal pain so that he could not move at all.

The whole day the Indians from the hamlets in the vicinity kept arriving. We embraced them all and treated them all as well as we could. These Indians gave us clearer information concerning the Cosninas and the Moquinos, giving them these same names. They also told us the way to the river (which is twelve leagues from here at the most), giving us the directions for the ford. We bought about a bushel of pine kernels from them and gave them more than a half bushel of grass seeds.

Very early the following day twenty-six Indians came, being some of those who had been with us yesterday afternoon, and others we had not seen before. We spoke to them of the Gospel, reprimanding them and informing them of the evil and uselessness of their wrong doings, especially the superstitious healings of their sick. We warned them that they should appeal in their troubles only to the One true God, because only His Majesty has at His disposal health and sickness, life and death, and He can befriend everybody. Although our interpreter could not explain all this to them very well, one of them who undoubtedly had more dealings with the Yutas Payuchis, understood it very well, and he explained to the others what he heard. Seeing that they were listening with pleasure, we proposed that if they wished to become Christians, Fathers and Spaniards would come to instruct them and to live among them. They answered in the affirmative, and asking them where we would find them when we came again, they said they would be on this small ridge and the surrounding hills. Then, to attract them to us, we gave them thirteen yards of red ribbon, giving each a half yard for which they were very happy and grateful. One of them had already offered to go with us to the river, and guide us to the ford, but when the others had gone, and he had continued with us for a half league, he became so frightened that we could not persuade him to continue. Our companions, rather thoughtlessly, wanted to use force to compel him to keep his word; but we, after seeing his reluctance, let him go freely.

**October 24.** At nine o'clock in the morning, or a little later, we left San Juan Capistrano, along a ravine, traveling south-southeast, and after four leagues we changed to the southeast along the same ravine. Here at the foot of the eastern plateau of the ravine are three pools of good water, but there was not enough for the

horses. From our last stop to this place we traveled over good ground. After another two leagues southeast, we went east-southeast about three leagues over sandy and difficult ground and although we did not find water for the horses, we stopped on finding pasture, because the animals were now very tired and it was already night. We named the place San Bartolomé. Here is a vast valley but poor soil, because what seems to be sand is actually a kind of earth which on the surface has about two inches of gravel and then it is of different colors. There are many mines of transparent gypsum, some of talc and it also seems there are some metal-bearing mines. Today we walked nine leagues.

In this region the Colorado River flows from north-northeast to south-southwest, in a very deep and narrow channel, so that to plant anything here, although the soil is good, the river would not be of much use. This afternoon we saw the gorges and large rocks of the river basin which, seen from the western side, seem like a long chain of houses; but we imagined it to be the ravine of one of the many dry brooks there are on the plain.

October 25. We started from San Bartolomé, going east-southeast. We went a little less than a league and a half eastward. We did not want to arrive at the real gorge of the Río Grande because we passed by several arroyos with gorges as deep as this one, and therefore we were convinced that the Río Grande [the big river] did not go through here, but some other brook. Therefore we traveled toward the north-northeast of the valley where we thought we would be able to avoid the plateaus which surround it. We followed the ravine of a brook, looking for water for the horses, which were by this time worn out from thirst. Having traveled through this ravine for two leagues northeast, we were not able to leave the valley and continued toward the west climbing a very bad hill. We then went north-northeast and two leagues farther on we saw some poplars at the foot of the plateau. We went in that direction and we found a good spring of water. Along its banks there was some deposit which we took for saltpeter; we therefore thought the water might be salty, but sampling it we found it to be sweet. We camped here, naming the place San Fructo. We covered five leagues today.

In the afternoon Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went to explore the northern part of the valley, to find out whether there was a pass out of it, and whether he could find or perceive the river and its ford. He came back after midnight with the glad news of having arrived at the river; but said he did not know whether we would be able to get over some hills and crests [summits] which were on the opposite bank. Nevertheless, because he said the river seemed easy here and to have a ford, we decided to go that way.

October 26. We started from San Fructo, going north. After three leagues and a half we arrived where we first thought the

northern pass of the valley would be, and found it to be a corner entirely surrounded by very high hills and peaks of red earth and having various shapes, and being of the same color as the soil of the valley, presented an agreeable and confusing aspect. We continued along the same route with a great deal of trouble, because the horses sank to their knees in the earth when the top gravel gave way. After a league and a half we reached the large river [Río Grande] of the Cosninas.<sup>35</sup> Here it is joined by a small river which we named the Santa Teresa. We crossed the latter and stopped on the bank of the Río Grande, by the side of a large rock of brown stone, and named the place San Benito Salsipuedes. All the ground from San Fructo here is very difficult and wherever it holds a little moisture from the snow or rain, it is altogether impassable. We walked five leagues north today.

We decided to reconnoiter this afternoon after crossing the river to see whether we would be able to go from here to the southeast or the east. We were surrounded everywhere by plateaus and inaccessible peaks; therefore two of our men who were good swimmers, entered the river naked, carrying their clothes on top of their heads. It was so deep and broad that the swimmers, in spite of their skill, were scarcely able to reach the opposite bank, abandoning in the middle of the river, their clothing which they never saw again. Since they reached the opposite bank very tired, naked and barefoot, they could not go the necessary distance to explore the ground, but turned back after taking some food.

October 27. Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went along the ravine of the river Santa Teresa to see whether through it there might be a pass to cross the eastern plateau, and to return over more open ground to the Río Grande [Río Grande: a generic name for all big rivers], which being wider, might be forded, or at least crossed by the animals, to avoid their being engulfed in the water. He explored the land all day and part of the night and he did not find a pass. He saw a hill by which the plateau might be crossed very near here, but he thought it very difficult. Others also went to explore in different directions, and they found only insurmountable difficulties getting to the ford, without retracing a great many of our steps.

October 28. We tried again, but in vain, to solve our difficulties. In a short time we built a raft out of logs, and Father Fray Silvestre, accompanied by the servants, tried to cross the river; but although the poles they used to propel it were about five yards long, they did not touch bottom even a short distance from the bank. The waves driven by a contrary wind, held it back, and thus it returned to the shore from which it had set out three times, without even reaching the middle of the river. Besides, being so

35. Colorado River.



deep and wide here, there are on both shores marshes so immense that we might lose in them all or the better part of the horses. The Yubuincariris and the Paguampachis Indians had assured us that the entire river was very deep, except at the ford, because when they crossed it the water only reached their waists or a little above. For this reason and other indications they gave, we figured the ford to be farther up the river and we therefore sent Andrés Muñiz and his brother Lucrecio with orders to go on until they found we might cross the mesa, and reaching the river again, to look for a good ford, or at least some place where we might get across on the raft and the horses might swim without danger.

**October 29.** Not knowing when we would be able to leave this place, and having already eaten up the meat of the first horse, the pine kernels and the other provisions we had bought, we ordered another horse killed.

**October 30 and 31.** We stayed at the same place waiting for the two men who had gone to look for a pass and a ford.

**November 1.** The two men returned at one o'clock in the afternoon, saying they had found a pass, though a different one, and a ford at the river. The pass over the plateau was the same hill which Cisneros had seen and being very high and rough we decided to go close to it this afternoon. We left the bank of the Río Grande and the difficult place of San Benito Salsipuedes, and we traveled along the Santa Teresa River and after a league northwest we camped on its bank at the foot of the plateau in question. We covered only one league today.

Last night between sunset and seven o'clock in the morning we felt very cold.

**November 2.** We left the Santa Teresa River and climbed the plateau which we named the Animas Plateau which might be about a half league from top to bottom. It took us more than three hours to climb it because it has a very rough and sandy surface, with passes very difficult to negotiate and very dangerous piles of rocks; finally, it became almost impassable. Reaching the summit at last, going east, we descended by the other side with extreme difficulty over deep stony chasms traveling north, and a league farther on we turned a half league northeast over red, sandy ground, very troublesome for the animals. We climbed a small elevation, and after two leagues and a half northeast we descended to an arroyo which had running water in some places which was salty, but drinkable. There was also pasture and we therefore camped here, naming the place San Diego. We walked four and a half leagues today.

We stopped today about three leagues in a straight line, from San Benito Salsipuedes, northeast, close to a large number of ra-





Escalante Town, in Escalante Valley. Settled in 1875. Is ninety miles in the wilderness from the nearest railroad; is a mile above sea level, and is one of the most isolated towns of its size in the West—1200 population.



vines, hillocks and peaks of red earth, which at first sight look like the ruins of a fort.

**November 3.** We started from San Diego, going east-south-east, and after two leagues we reached the river again, that is, the border of the canyon, which serves as its bed here. The descent to the river is very long, high, craggy, and rocky. There are so many difficult piles of stones that two pack animals which climbed down first could not climb it on the return trip even without a load. Those who had explored this section did not tell us about this plateau and we knew now that they did not find the ford, nor did they duly explore in so many days such a small section of land, since they had wasted their time looking for some of the Indians who roam this land, and had found none.

The river was very deep though not as deep as at Salsipuedes, but for a long stretch it was necessary for the animals to swim, and the worst of it was that there was no landing place either at the entrance nor at the exit. The companions insisted that we go down to the river, but since there was no way to continue on along the other bank once the river was crossed but by a high and narrow canyon of another small river which joins it here, and not having seen whether the latter was passable, we were afraid we would be compelled to turn back (if we descended and crossed the river), which over these rocks would be extremely difficult. To avoid this hazard we camped below and sent the half-breed Juan Domingo to cross the river and see whether the canyon had an exit; but if during the afternoon he did not find one, he was to return so that we might continue up along this shore of the river as far as the ford and the path mentioned by the Indians. When the half-breed had left on foot, Lucrecio Muñiz said, that if we allowed him, he would go too on an unsaddled horse, taking with him the necessary implements to make a fire and send up smoke signals to us if he found an exit, so that with this information, we might proceed to descend and thus shorten the delay. We told him to go, but warned him that whether he found an exit or not, we would expect him this same afternoon. They did not return and we therefore spent the night here, without being able to water the animals, although we were so near the river. We named the place the Vado de los Cosninas or San Carlos. Today we marched two leagues east-southeast.

**November 4.** Dawn came without any news of the two men we sent yesterday to explore the land. The meat of the second horse was all eaten; we had taken no food, and we therefore broke our fast with the tender, roasted branches of young nopal [cactus or prickly pear] trees, and gruel made from a little fruit they found by the river bank. This fruit is tasty, but ground and boiled in water as we ate it today it is insipid. Seeing that it was already

late and the two men had not returned, we gave the servants orders to be diligent in taking the animals down to the river and to kill another horse on the bank. The animals were led down with great difficulty, some of them getting hurt because, losing their footing on the rocks, they stumbled and slipped about. A little before nightfall the half-breed Juan Domingo returned, assuring us that he had not found an exit and that his companion, leaving the horse in the middle of the canyon, had followed some fresh Indian tracks. We therefore decided to continue up the river until we found a good ford and passable ground on both sides.

November 5. We started from San Carlos although Lucrecio had not returned, leaving there his brother Andrés, with the order to wait for him only until the afternoon and to try to overtake us that night. We marched along on this western bank, with many fissures and gaps, a league and a half to the north; we descended to a dry brook and a high canyon where there was much copperas; here we found a seldom used path; we followed it and by means of it, we got out of the canyon, crossing over a small bank of difficult white stone, but easy to climb over. We continued and after a league and a quarter north-northeast we found water, though only a little, and enough pasture, and as it was almost night we camped close to a high plateau, and named the place Santa Francisca Romana. We covered three short leagues today.

Here it rained a great deal last night and in some places it snowed. At dawn it was still raining and it continued for several hours. About six o'clock in the morning Andrés Muñiz arrived, saying that his brother had not appeared. This news gave us cause for worry, because they had been traveling three days without food and without any clothing but a shirt; the missing man had not even worn trousers, because, although he had crossed the river on horseback, the horse swam a long way and when it got tired, the man dismounted and the water reached to his shoulders. The half-breed therefore decided to go looking for him following his tracks from the place where he saw him the last time. We sent him out, giving him meat from the supply, and an order that if the horse could not get out of the canyon, he was to leave it there and continue on foot and that if he found him on the other side of the river, they should look about for our trail, and if they found it on this side, they should try to join us as quickly as possible.

November 6. The rain having stopped, we started out from Santa Francisca, going northeast, and after traveling three leagues, we were stopped for a long while by a very heavy rain and a storm of large hail stones, with horrible claps of thunder and flashes of lightning. We recited the litany of the Virgin to obtain some relief and God willed that the tempest ceased. We continued for a half league east and camped near the river, because it continued to



rain and some large rocks obstructed our passage. We named the place San Vicente Ferrer. We walked three leagues and a half today.

Don Juan Pedro Cisneros went to see whether the ford was here and came back with the information that he had noticed that the river hereabouts was very wide, and it seemed to him that it was not as deep as the current indicated, but that only by a nearby canyon could we reach it. We sent two men to explore this canyon and to ford the river; they came back telling us that all of it was very difficult. We did not give [pay] much attention to their statement and therefore decided to explore the entire place ourselves the following day, in the company of Don Juan Pedro Cisneros. Before nightfall the half-breed came back with Lucrecio.

November 7. We went very early to explore the canyon and the ford, taking along the two half-breeds, Felipe and Juan Domingo, so that they might ford the river on foot because they are good swimmers. To lead the animals down by their bridles to the canyon it was necessary to hew steps with the ax in a rock for a distance of about three yards or a little less.<sup>36</sup> The animals could go down the rest of the way but without a pack or a rider. We descended to the canyon and after walking for a mile we reached the river. We went down along it for a distance of two gunshots, now through the water, now along the shore, until we reached the widest part of its stream where the ford seemed to be. One of our men entered it on foot and found it easy, without being compelled to swim in any place. We followed him on horseback a little farther down, and in the middle of the river two horses which were going on ahead lost their footing and had to swim in a short channel. We waited, though with some danger, while the first wader returned on foot from the other bank to lead us across successfully to the other side, without the horses on which we rode being compelled to swim.

We informed the other companions who had remained at San Vicente, asking them to lower down on knotted ropes the harnesses and saddles and other articles from a not very high rock to the cove by the ford and to bring the animals the same way we had come. They did so, and about five o'clock in the afternoon they succeeded in crossing the river. We praised the Lord Our God, and fired off some shots as a sign of the great happiness which we all felt at having overcome such an enormous difficulty which had cost us so much trouble and delay. The principal reason for our having suffered so much since we entered the land of the Parusis, was that we lacked someone to guide us over such bad ground and therefore, for lack of experience, we wandered about. We lingered so many days over such a short distance and

36. See *Utah Historical Quarterly*, January-July, 1939, p. 56-7, for a description of the "Crossing of the Fathers," in the "Diary of Almon Harris Thompson," who was a member of the Powell survey party.—J.C.A.

suffered from hunger and thirst, and after enduring all that, we finally learned the best and most direct road to the watering holes which are well spaced for ordinary one-day marches, and we went along securing information about the rest, especially since we changed from a southerly course the day we left San Dónulo or the Arroyo del Taray. Therefore from this last place we would have gone to the well-supplied watering hole which we find on the next plain. From this last place we would easily reach another watering place which is about three leagues northeast of San Angel; from this one to Santa Gertrudis. From this last point we might have gone three leagues and stopped at the same arroyo with water and sufficient pasturage, advanced as far as possible during the afternoon, going northeast, and arriving next day, following the same route, and avoiding altogether the ridge, reached the Santa Teresa River three or four leagues north of San Juan Capistrano. From this river to San Diego, traveling east-southeast, and from this place to the ford without any great trouble and avoiding many detours, hills, and difficult passages. But doubtless the Lord arranged that we would not be able to get a guide, either as a light punishment for our sins or so that we would acquire some knowledge of the people inhabiting these lands. His Most Holy Will be done, and His Holy Name be glorified!

The ford of the river is very good; here it is about a mile wide or a little more, and here the Navajó and the Dolores Rivers together join with all the others we have mentioned in this diary. In all the land we saw around here it would not be possible to make any settlement on its banks, nor is it even possible to travel up or down along either bank for a day's journey in the hope that its waters may be used for people and animals; because not only is the ground poor, but the river flows between narrow walls. All the hills near the ford consist of high rocks and very steep peaks. Eight or ten leagues to the northeast there is a round, high and small ridge, which the Payuchis, whose land begins here, call Tucané, which means Cerro Negro [black hill] and the only one hereabouts to be seen near the river crossing.

On this eastern bank by the same ford which we named Purísima Concepción de la Virgen Santísima there is a medium-sized cove with good pasture. There we spent the night and observed the latitude by the [altitude of the] north star and found it to be 36°55'.

*Brief Summary of the People We Saw, Dealt with and Knew through Hearsay, from the Valley of the Señor San José to the Ford of the Río Grande de Cosnina.<sup>87</sup>*

This land, notwithstanding the fact that we traveled through it for a hundred long leagues, on account of the detours we made, may be about sixty Spanish leagues from north to south and from

87. Colorado River.



Escalante Mountain, looking northeast from Bryce Canyon region. Usually called "Table Cliff Plateau," it is about twelve miles west-southwest from Escalante town and twelve miles northeast of Tropic.





east to west about forty, is inhabited by a large number of people. All of them present an agreeable appearance, are very amiable and extremely timid. For this last reason and because all we saw speak the Yuta language in the same way as the more western Payuchis, we named all those tribes of which we are speaking Yutas Cobardes. The individual names are chosen according to the land the tribes inhabit, which is divided into several regions or provinces (not into nations like the Yutas we knew before, who formed a single nation or kingdom, divided into five provinces, and who were known only by the name of Yutas): the Yutas Muhuachis, the Yutas Payuchis, the Tabehuachis and the Sabuaganas. The Yutas Cobardes, on the other hand, are divided into the Huascaris, who inhabit the valley of Señor San José and its vicinity; the Parusis, who come after them on the south and southwest and inhabit the borders and the vicinity of the little river of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and are the only ones among all the tribes we saw who busy themselves planting corn; the Yubuincariris, who dwell almost south of the Parusis and around here are nearest to the Río Grande; the Ytimpabichis, who live in the high plateaus and rocky lands which lie near Santa Bárbara toward the north; and the Pagampachis, who also live on the poor rocky soil of the plateaus and barren ravines.

As we have already said, they hold a vast valley through which the Río Grande<sup>38</sup> flows but they cannot make use of its waters for irrigation. According to information given by the Yubuincariris to the south-southwest of them down below the river, there are other Indians whom they call Payatammunis. To the west and west-northwest of the Huascaris, we also learned that there dwells another tribe speaking this same language as themselves. All the remaining tribes, of which there are many, inhabit the west or north banks up the river throughout the entire ridge which lies below the Lagunas, and the land between the ridge and the rivers in the north which we last crossed before they joined, and these Indians are, according to information we received, the same kind of Indians, and they belong in part to the Yutas Barbones, in part to the Huascaris and in part to the Lagunas, according to the contacts to which they owe the similarity of their language with that of their neighbors.

**November 8.** We left Concepción Valley and the ford and climbed the canyon of the river by a high rock which did not present much of a problem. We went south-southeast following a much frequented trail, and walked five leagues over sandy and very broken ground. We turned east a league and stopped near the last hill of the chain which extends from the river to this place which we named San Miguel, where we found good pasture and sufficient rain water. We walked six leagues today.

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38. Colorado River.

We found today many Indian tracks, but saw no one. So many wild sheep flourish here that their tracks look like great herds of domestic sheep. They are smaller than the domestic variety, of the same shape but much swifter. Today we finished the horse meat we brought with us and we therefore ordered another one killed. Last night we felt much colder than when we were on the other bank.

November 9. We lost the trail and could not find a pass by which to descend to a canyon nearby on the southeast, or to cross more than a half league of crags and ravines which threatened to prevent the continuance of our journey. For this reason we changed to a course east-northeast and after two leagues over poor ground, the same obstacle compelled us to stop on a plateau without being able to advance a single step. Near this plateau we found huts belonging to some Yutas Payuchis, neighbors and friends of the Cosninas. We made great efforts by means of the Laguna and other companions, to bring them near where we were encamped, and because they suspected that we were friends of the Mosquinos whose sworn enemies they are, or because they had never seen Spaniards before, and were greatly afraid of us, we could not succeed in bringing them to us.

November 10. We both went very early with the interpreter and the Laguna to their huts. Not even on foot could we reach their place. We sent the two men on, and we remained on a hill, from which we could see them and be seen by them, so that seeing us, the Indians might lose their fear more easily and approach us. After the interpreter had talked to them for more than two hours, five of them came and on arriving near us, they turned back in flight without our being able to stop them. The interpreter returned to see if they would sell us some provisions but they answered that they did not have any. They told him that the Cosninas lived very near here, but that they had now withdrawn to the mountains to gather pine kernels, and that, a short distance from here, we would find two paths, one to the Cosninas and the other to the pueblo of Oraybi, in Moqui. They also showed him the direction of the path which we had lost, saying that we had to go back to San Miguel and from here descend to the aforementioned canyon. In all this we wasted most of the day, and during the remainder, we went back to San Miguel, getting a half league nearer the canyon to which we were not able to descend before, and we stopped at the beginning of the descent. We marched a half league southeast today.

November 11. Very early we explored the descent, found the lost path and continued our route. We descended to the canyon with great difficulty because there are some dangerous passages and all the slope is rocky. The Indians have repaired these pas-

sages with branches and loose stones and over the last passage they have built a stair of the same materials more than three yards long and two wide. Two little rivers join here and enter the large river near San Carlos. We climbed to the opposite bank over a string of rocks and stones, which lies between the two small rivers, making many detours and crossing some banks of dangerous stones made passable only by blows with a bar. We reached the top about midday having walked, descending and ascending two leagues east-southeast. There are two small hills northeast of the path. From the lower one we turned southeast and after three leagues over good ground we camped, although there was no water, because there was good pasture for the horses and sufficient firewood to use against the great cold we endured. We named the place San Proto. We walked five leagues today.

November 12. We left San Proto, going south-southeast, and traveled three leagues along an open road and over good ground. Over the same road we found a little spring of good water in which, after breaking the ice, all the men and horses drank. It is, according to what the tracks show, a resting place for the Cosninas, when they go to meet the Payuchis [Payucuis]. We continued south in the extreme cold, by the same road, and after four leagues over very good ground, we left the straight road to Moqui, according to the information from the Payuchis, and followed the more frequented road of the Cosninas, going south-southwest and after a league we found several uninhabited huts or ranches and signs that many cattle and horses had grazed around here for some time. We continued along the same road, and after a league and a half to the southwest, night came on and we camped without water, naming the place San Jacinto. We covered nine and a half leagues today.

Because of the extreme cold we stopped for a while, the rest of the company going on, to build a fire to warm Don Bernardo Miera who was already almost frozen, and we were afraid he would not be able to withstand such cold weather. That is why our companions reached the aforementioned spring ahead of us, and before we could overtake them they continued the journey without filling with water the barrels which we brought with us for that purpose. Because of this oversight we suffered great thirst during the night.

November 13. We left San Jacinto going south-southwest by the same road and through good mountain land and abundant pastures. After two leagues we turned south one and a half leagues and we found among some rocks enough water for the men and almost enough for all the animals. We continued over a sandy plain south two leagues and southeast a half league. About a league farther on we camped by another pool of poor water which



we found on the same road. We named the place Espino, because we ate a porcupine and we tasted for the first time its flesh which is very exquisite. We were all so much in need of food that since the preceding night we had not eaten anything but a little roasted leather; and therefore the porcupine, divided among so many, only served to whet our appetites and so we had to kill another horse. We did not do this before because we hoped to find provisions in some of the Cosninas' huts, but we had not even seen any recent traces of these Indians. Today we made six leagues.

November 14. We left Espino, going south-southeast, and after a little less than a league, we found on the road a large pool of good water from which all the animals drank their fill. We continued southeast and three-fourths of a league farther on we entered a canyon in which appear four springs of good water. We traveled through the canyon for a half league southeast and arrived at a little field and the farm of the Cosninas, very pretty and well arranged. This field is watered by the four springs just mentioned and by two other abundant springs which rise nearby. This year the Cosninas planted this farm with corn, beans, squash, watermelons and muskmelons. When we arrived they had gathered the harvest, and according to the remnants, it had been abundant, especially the beans, because if we had made this a stop-over we could have gathered half a bushel. The field was surrounded by peach trees. In addition to several huts made of boughs there was a little house very well constructed with stone and mud. Inside were the baskets, calabash bowls, and other utensils belonging to these Indians, who had, according to the traces [their tracks] seemingly left the place several days before, perhaps to look for pine kernels in the high mountains nearby toward the south-southwest.

From the farm there are roads leading in different directions. We did not know which one to take to go to Moquí, because by this time we could not go any farther away in search of the Cosninas, as much through lack of provisions as because of the extreme cold inflicted upon us by the winter. We chose a road going southwest. We traveled about two leagues over very flat land, passing by some springs of good water and crossed a little river which flows northeast to southwest with as much water as an ordinary ditch has. It had a small grove of poplars and medium-sized valleys, lacking in trees where we crossed. Beyond the river we climbed a plateau on which there was a small lake and several pools of rain water which serve as watering places and drinking troughs for the Moquis' cows which we now began to see in numerous herds. We went over the plateau for two and a half leagues east-southeast and climbed a high hill, and because night was already upon us and there was good pasture for the horses, we camped. We named the place the Cuesta de los Llanos, because from here vast plains and fields start without plateaus, mountains



or ridges, and very rich in good pastures which extend southeast far beyond Moquí. We made six leagues and a quarter today.

**November 15.** We left the Cuesta de los Llanos, going east-southeast; we walked along the hill for nine leagues without finding any water during the entire journey, and afraid of getting lost if we went to look for it, but finally we found some in a ravine where there was a chamiso thicket. We stopped here and named it the Cañada de los Chizos. We walked today nine leagues east-southeast.

We had nothing for supper this evening because the horse meat we had was not enough for everybody. Here there were large herds of cattle and all the companions wanted to kill a cow or a calf. They impatiently insisted that we permit them to satisfy in this way the hunger we all suffered. We, considering that now we were near the pueblo of Oraybi, and that for this reason some trouble might arise among the Moquinos and our purpose be defeated, which was to strengthen again the ways for enlightenment and evangelical gentleness against their voluntary blindness and inveterate obstinacy, we ordered another horse to be killed and said that nobody should go near the above-mentioned herds, though they might be, as they said, stolen or common property.

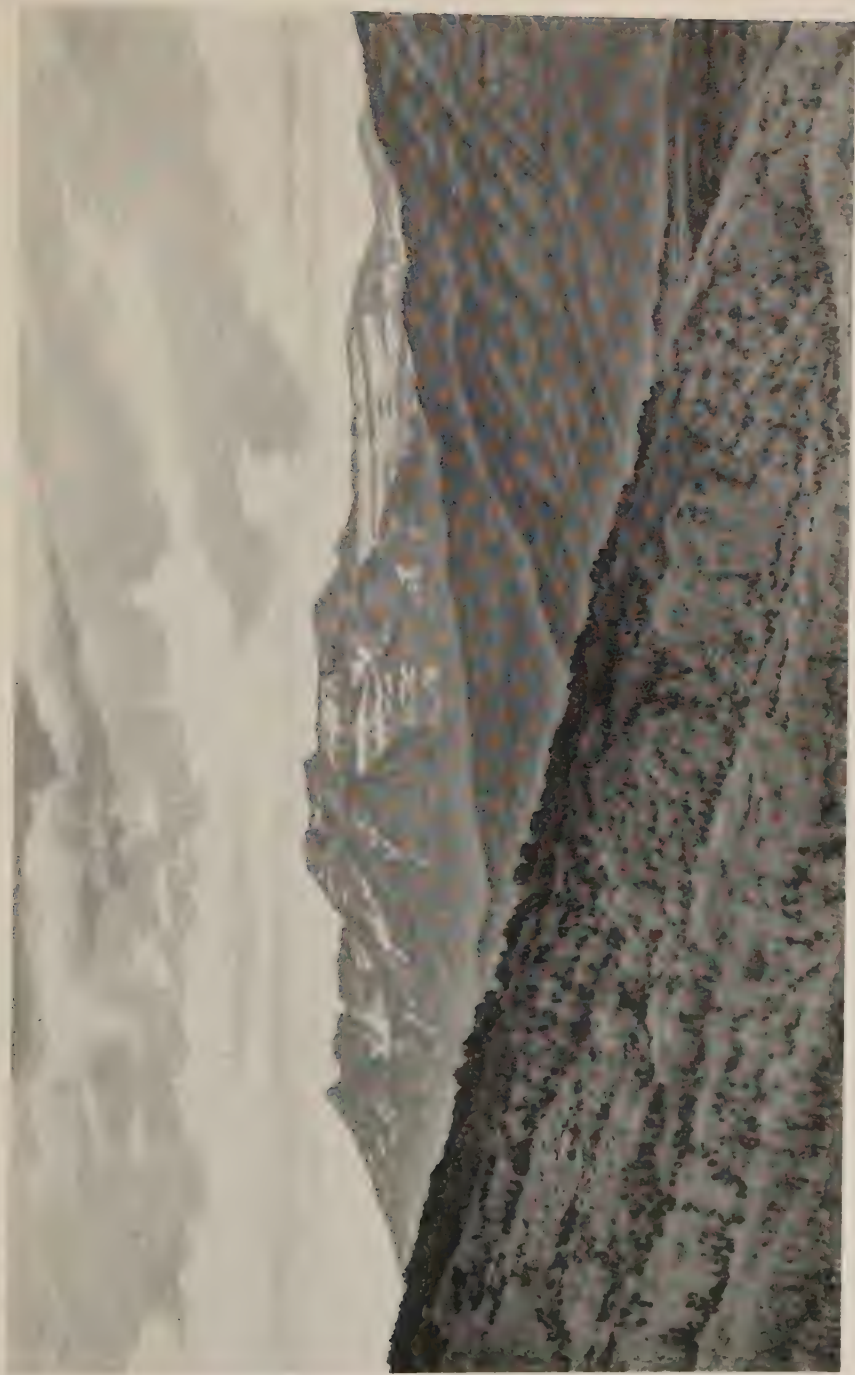
**November 16.** We started from the Cañada de los Chizos going east-southeast and walked three leagues, and close to a high plateau we switched to an east-northeast direction for a fourth of a league. We found here a much traveled road, and decided that it might lead to some of the Moquí pueblos. We followed it and after three leagues northeast over good flat ground, and less than two leagues north, we reached the plateau of the pueblo of Oraybi. We ordered the companions to stop at the foot of the plateau, and said that nobody, except those who accompanied us on the upward climb, was to enter the town until we told him to do so. We climbed the hill without any difficulty. On entering the town a large number of Indians, both adults and children, surrounded us. We asked for the cacique [chief] and the leaders in a language they did not understand. When we wanted to go to the hut of the cacique they stopped us, and one of them in the Navajó language told us that we might not enter the town. Then Don Juan Pedro Cisneros asked them courageously in the same language whether they were not our friends. With this they became quiet and an old man led us to his house and gave us lodging, clearing one of the rooms for us so that we might pass the night, and gave us the kind of food they eat. We walked seven leagues today.

This evening the cacique came to visit us with two old men and after making known to us that they were our friends, they offered to sell us the provisions we might need, for which we showed them that we were grateful.

**November 17.** Very early they brought to our lodging calabash bowls or small trays with meal, cow's fat, guavas and other kinds of food. We promptly bought what we could, because they brought the least of what we needed most. Lacking an interpreter we could not undertake their conversion as was suitable and as we wished. Nevertheless we said something to them, especially to the cacique and to our host and benefactor. They listened attentively but declared only that they wanted to keep the friendship of the Spaniards. The cacique told us that he had already sent a warning to the other pueblos to lodge us and sell us the food we might need in order to reach Zuñi. We thanked them very much for this service and for the others we had received from them, and after midday we set out from Oraybi for the pueblo of Xongopabi. After approximately two leagues and a quarter southeast, we arrived at sunset and they received us kindly, giving us lodging promptly. We traveled today two leagues and a quarter southeast.

**November 18.** The most important Indians of this town and of the neighboring pueblos of Xipaolabi and Mossanganabi having come to our lodge, after expressing our appreciation to them for the friendship and kind treatment we had had, partly by signs and partly in the Navajó tongue, we preached to them. They replied that they could not answer us because they did not understand the Castilian language nor did we understand the Moquino [theirs]; that we should go to Gualpi where there were some persons who understood Castilian and say there everything we wanted to tell the caciques and the captains and we would learn what all of them wished. But when we urged them to speak for themselves if they had understood us, they answered that the cacique and the captain of Oraybi had sent them word to lodge us, to take care of us and to sell us provisions, thus securing our friendship, without discussing or accepting any other matter, and therefore they wanted to be our friends but not to become Christians.

After that we gave the Indian who had lodged us and looked after us, a woolen blanket for his wife, thinking by this means they would realize our true gratitude and would become more attached to us, but it did not work out as we expected, because the woman having received the blanket with signs of pleasure, one of her brothers snatched it from her and threw it at us in great anger. We decided that his malice toward us made him suspect some ulterior motive in our gift, contrary to our honor and profession, and we therefore tried to make him understand our true motive, with the seriousness and the prudence the case deserved. The Indian then, wanting to make up for the serious offense he had committed against us, although without any deliberate intention on his part, threw us into still greater confusion than the first time. There were many of us there who could not understand anything he said, but after most of those present had gone and he had given us



Distant view of Mt. Timpanogos





something to think about, pointing to Fray Silvestre and Don Pedro Cisneros he said in Navajó that he had known what happened in Oraybi when these two Fathers, Fray Silvestre and Don Juan Pedro had been there last summer, and he had been in Gualpi when the Cosnina spoke to Father Silvestre and gave him information about the road from Moquí to the Cosninas and that now we had come by the same road. He said that he could not permit his brothers and brothers-in-law to accept the blanket, because if they did their relatives and friends would be angry with them. He said this to placate us but we could not make out with any clarity the rest of what he wished us to understand, although it was not difficult to infer from the preceding incidents.

This afternoon we started out for Gualpi. After walking nine leagues, and more than four to the east, we arrived at night. Our small number of followers remained below at the foot of the cliff and we climbed up with some of them. The Tanos and the Gualpis received us very gladly and they lodged us in the hut of the cacique of the Tanos where we stayed for the night. We walked two leagues and a quarter east today.

After resting for a short while an Indian convert named Pedro, from the pueblo of Galisteo in Nuevo-México, an old man and wielding great authority among the Tanos of Moquí, told us that they then were waging a hard war with the Apaches and Navajós, who had killed and captured many of their men. For this reason, he added, they were anxious for some Fathers or Spaniards to come to these pueblos so that through them they might ask the governor for aid and support against these enemies. Therefore they had been especially joyful when they learned that we were coming to visit them, because they expected us to befriend and comfort them. This seemed to us to be one of the best occasions for persuading them to accept the Christian faith and the authority of His Majesty the King (may the Lord protect him!). We answered them, holding out great hope to them, and telling them to summon the chiefs of the other three towns to come to Gualpi, and to meet all together on the following day in the town of the Tanos to discuss this affair deliberately and gravely. Then Pedro said that he wished to go to the city of Santa Fé, to establish with the governor, in the name of the Moquinos and the Tanos, the alliance they wished, and to ask for the help they needed, if we were willing to take him along in our company. We answered that we would take him along with pleasure and we would speak to the governor in favor of all the Moquinos, but for that it would be necessary for each one of the six pueblos to send someone of authority into the presence of his lordship. They agreed that on the following day they would meet together in the manner suggested, and that they would call us, when they were

assembled in a heated room, to talk the matter over and to determine what would be best to do.

November 19. The most important men of Mossanganabi came, and joined with the caciques and the leaders of the pueblos of the Cuesa de Gualpi in a heated room belonging to the Tanos. The aforementioned Indian convert Pedro brought us there. We were given as an interpreter another convert, an Indian from Santa Clara named Antonio el Cuate, because he understands and speaks the Castilian language well. He translated our words into the Tegua language; and Pedro translated them into the Moquino language so that everyone at the meeting might understand us. They reported what they had discussed before we arrived in the heated room, and that they had agreed that the convert Pedro should travel in our company to the city of Santa Fé, to ask, in the name of all the pueblos, for help from the governor against the Apaches and Navajós, and to form a friendship with the Spaniards. They begged us to say all we could in their favor. We answered that we would be on their side in every way, because we loved them as our children, and we felt very sorry for their troubles, but since God alone has the power to do everything and rules all, as long as they remain heathens and continue to offend Him, they would not be able to rid themselves of their difficulties. Then we explained to them the seriousness of the eternal punishment they would have to suffer without fail in hell, unless they accepted the Christian religion, mentioning the afflictions they had just told us about to strengthen our arguments. We also told them that if they became Christians, they would have the constant and sure protection of the Spanish arms, like all the other Christian pueblos in Nuevo-México, against all the heathens who might attempt to attack them. At the same time we made them see the uselessness and futility of the friendships and alliances with the Yutas and the Navajós which they had celebrated so many times before. After telling them everything we thought fitting and worthwhile, we asked them to make known to us their decision, with the understanding that whether or not it conformed to our wishes, we would take along with us their ambassadors to Santa Fé, and would help them as much as possible. We exhorted them three times to join the society of Holy Church, refuting as false and groundless the reasons they gave for not accepting the Faith. To our first plea they answered that they already knew that the governors sent the Fathers to make them accept their authority, which they had not asked for and did not want. To our second plea, they answered that since there were more heathen nations than Christian, they preferred to follow the majority, and besides this, they were living in a land very unsuitable for the service which, when converted, they would be compelled to perform work [or slave] for the Spaniards.

We destroyed the apparent force of each one of these reasons and, having no new argument to offer, those in the assembly talked a long time, those with the greatest authority beginning and the others following in the order of their importance. Although only one spoke at a time, everything he said was in the form of a dialogue and he finished his speech with several questions addressed to the others who answered in turn, assenting or denying, according to the type of questions asked. In these speeches they told of the traditions of their ancestors and urged their observance, concluding that it suited them better to put up with all their present troubles and difficulties rather than oppose them. They said that they sought only our friendship, but in no way did they wish to become Christians, because their elders had told them and advised them never to submit to the Spaniards. We tried to make them see the harmful impiety of similar traditions and advice, but all in vain. Finally they decided that Pedro would not go to the city of Santa Fé. He himself told us the reason, saying: "Now they do not wish me to go to see the governor, because since I am a Christian they say that he will not let me return to Moquí." He feared this much more than the others and therefore we were unable to persuade him to fulfill his first resolution. When the assembly was over, we went sadly to our lodgings, seeing that the stubbornness of these unhappy Indians was insuperable. We therefore decided to set out the following day for Zuñi before the roads and passes were completely blocked up, since it had been snowing steadily. for this reason we could not observe the latitude by the pole [star?] of these pueblos of Moquí.

**November 20.** We started from the Gualpi pueblos in the afternoon and after four leagues east, a quarter southeast, we camped for the night by the watering place named the Ojo del Cañutillo or the Ojito de Moquí. We walked four leagues today.

**November 21.** We started from the Ojo del Cañutillo, traveling northeast, and after going three leagues, we turned east-southeast for two leagues, and after a little over two more leagues toward the east, we camped more than a half league below a little watering place named the Estiladero or Ojito del Peñasco. We covered seven leagues today.

**November 22.** We left the companions with the remaining horses which were much weaker, to follow us leisurely to Zuñi, and we, with three of the men, went on more quickly. After nine leagues east, a quarter southeast we reached a place known as Cuma. We rested here for a while and continued two more leagues east. The horses were so tired that we had to stop. Today we made eleven leagues.

**November 23.** We continued our journey, although it snowed all day with very severe storms, and after covering twelve leagues



speedily, we stopped at a place called Kianatuna, or Ojo de San José. We suffered very much from the cold last night. Today we traveled twelve leagues, almost all toward the east.

**November 24.** As soon as the weather cleared, we left the Ojo de Señor San José, going southeast and after two leagues we stopped a while to build a fire to warm ourselves because it was so cold that we were afraid of freezing in this ravine. We continued southeast over three leagues, and after two more east, a quarter northeast we stopped to change horses at a watering place which the Zuñis call Okiappá. We continued on, and after five leagues southeast, at nightfall we reached the town and mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zuñi, dead tired. We traveled twelve leagues today.

Finding ourselves without sufficient strength to continue on immediately to the city of Santa Fé, we informed the governor of our safe arrival at this mission and sent him a brief summary of the contents of this diary.

**November 26.** In the afternoon the rest of our companions arrived.

Because of several incidents we stayed at this mission until the 13th day of December, when we left for the city of Santa Fé, and after traveling thirty leagues, we reached the mission of San Esteban de Acoma on the 16th day of the same month.

Later we had a heavy snowstorm which prevented us from going on as quickly as we desired.

**December 20.** We left Acoma for the mission of Señor San José de la Laguna where we arrived after traveling four leagues. We traveled four leagues today.

**December 22.** We set out from the Laguna mission and after six leagues east, a quarter northeast, we camped at the place called Alamo. We walked six leagues today.

**December 23.** We left Alamo and after five leagues east, a quarter east-southeast, we reached San Agustín de la Isleta. Today we made nine leagues.

**December 28.** We started from the pueblo of la Isleta, and after journeying four leagues we reached the mission of San Francisco Javier de Albuquerque. We covered four leagues today.

**December 30.** We left San Francisco, and after another four leagues we arrived at the mission of Nuestra Señora de las Dolores de Sandia. We traveled four leagues today.

**December 31.** We continued our journey and after seven



leagues we reached the mission of Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo. We covered seven leagues today.

January 2, 1777. We arrived at the city of Santa Fé, having started from the mission above mentioned.

January 3. We presented this diary, the token from the Laguna Indians which is mentioned herein, and the Laguna Indian. Because everything which took place and was observed on our journey is truly recorded in this diary, we sign it on this same day, the 3rd of January of the year 1777.

FRAY FRANCISCO ATANASIO DOMINGUEZ  
FRAY SILVESTRE VELEZ DE ESCALANTE

## MIERA'S REPORT

*Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty—My Lord:*

Burning in me is the desire to spread our Holy Faith and to serve your Majesty; the force of my loyalty and love for your Majesty compels me to give you a brief account in this letter, guiding myself by the experience of many years and the services I have rendered your Majesty which appear in the archives of the Viceroy of New Spain, during the time in which the Count of Revilla-Gigedo<sup>39</sup> and the Marquis de las Amarillas<sup>40</sup> were governors, and finally by the services which I have just completed for your Majesty at the risk of my life in the company of the Franciscan monks, Fray Atanasio Dominquez, inspector and custodian, and Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante (in all we were twelve persons), passing through vast lands and various countries mentioned in the Journal and Itinerary kept by the above-mentioned Fathers and visible on the plan and map drawn by myself, which is included with the aforementioned Journal, which we sent to your Majesty in the care of Don Pedro Fermin de Meridinueta, Governor of New Mexico.

We took a northwest course from this province traveling up to a latitude of 42 degrees, with the intention of arriving at the port of Monterey on our return in the circle we were following; but to our great sorrow we could not reach it for the reasons we explain in our Itinerary and Journal.

It is certain, my Lord, that several tribes desire to be baptized, especially the Timpanogos and the Barbones [Bearded Indians] of the Salt Valley [Valle Salado] and Miera Lake. These two tribes with flowing tears showed the commendable desire to become Christians.

To succeed in saving these souls, some difficulties may present themselves, such as the great distance and the serious threat of the enemy tribe of the Apaches, which is the one which at present is raiding these territories. All these difficulties can be overcome by the Will of God, the power of your Majesty and the good intentions and capable work of your loyal ministers. The base and the principal means for accomplishing our aim is the protection of the port of Monterey by means of two other towns, close to it, with communication by the sea route from New Galicia with every necessary convenience for a well-ordered town.

Your Majesty should also give serious consideration to the matter of improving the means of communication between the two provinces of Soñora and New Mexico with the ports already established or which may be built in the future on the California coast by furnishing these towns with cattle, sheep and horses and providing the soldiers in the forts with horses.

All necessary material and animals should be brought by land,

39. 1746-1755.

40. 1755-1758.

calamidades, y miseria, no se repare en parte, que se ofrezca con en aumento tropa  
siembre uno con la esperanza que Dios le dará ciento; no vedemos esta especie de  
porquero, enemigo, dan logrando mucha ventaja, y con muchos cautivos, Apor  
as que son los pobres, que quanto mas dilacion, mas difícil el remedio.

Este es Señor mi sentir, salvo otro mejor, llevado del mucho amor, y afecto de al  
que tengo a V. M. p. motivando me dello las experiencias de muchos años, y ver  
si zio echo a V. M. Confina Voluntas; lo que se fizo en el Memorial ad  
junto, y pongo a sus pies.

La divina M. p. Como todo poderoso, muchas vezes pone, viles y no instrumento  
para manifestar su poder, y grandeza. Tome considero uno de ellos; el fugo del  
amor, que tengo a V. M. de la extensión de esta Santa Fee, y de sus N. l. Dominus  
ne a. l. lo hace, en alando mis buenos deseos, para el mejor acierto; el que escid  
esta M. p. a V. M. y asimismo prometa, Como prometo, (dandome V. M. y sa  
ud) que en el término de tres años contando desde el primer día, que llegues  
a la de las Mimbres, con la tropa que llebo Mencionada; dar quietud y pacifica  
esta Provincia, y otras tres Poblaciones formadas, y al menos, un Mineral descubi  
to y trabajandose, de Oro, plata, y Cobre; Con lo, buena deseos y la Esperanza fia  
ne, en el que todo lo puede, sean de lo que mis promesas.

Es mi ánimo Señor, que en llegando, el Comandante Galén Gase, Don the  
lo de la Cruz, a esta Villa, que V. M. no, émbia a gobernar, en su Real nombre  
el presentarle un tanto desta para su Gobierno, el que espero de todo Poder  
sea feliz en todo. A quien humilde y portado pido y luego, nos Guarde la Impor  
tissima Vida de V. M. Con salud muy robusta muchos años, Con el gozo de to  
da felicidad, como émos menester sus Criados y Vassallos. S. M. el Real de  
Chiguagua, y Oct. 26. de 1777.

Señor.  
D. S. L. P. de V. M. Católica.  
Su hum. Criado y Vassallo.  
Bern. de Miera  
y Pacheco

A page from a letter of Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco.  
Chiguagua—October 26, 1777.





in the fastest possible time, which can be done by way of the Pimeria Alta or by way of New Mexico.

From the time of the first discoverer and founder of New Spain, Don Fernando Cortes, and the later governors who have ruled the province, much diligence in the exploration by land and by sea of the coast of California has been displayed but never so assiduously until the reign of your Majesty.

"What costs much is worth much." There will be many expenditures from the Royal Treasury, but your Catholic Majesty does not mind expenses because your Royal desire and main aim is always the conversion of souls.

With three fortresses and three towns inhabited by Spaniards in communication with the forts, the door will be opened to a new empire which can be explored and populated.

The base where the principal objective of the enterprise should be established is the valley and the borders of the Lake of the Timpanogos near one of the rivers which water the valley, because this place is the most pleasant, beautiful and fertile in all of New Spain.<sup>41</sup> It is large enough in itself to support a city with as large a population as that of Mexico City and its inhabitants can enjoy many conveniences because it contains every necessary thing for the sustenance of human life. The lake and the rivers which empty into the lake abound in many kinds of choice fish; there are to be seen there very large white geese, many varieties of duck, and other kinds of beautiful birds never seen elsewhere; beavers, otters, seals, and other animals which seem to be ermines by the softness and the whiteness of their fur. In the valleys of these rivers there is much uncultivated hemp and flax.<sup>42</sup>

The range of mountains on the east is also very fertile; there are many rivers and springs; good pasture for the breeding of all kinds of cattle and horses; Clustian pines and other kinds of timber; and in its valleys all kinds of plants can be sown. The veins seen at a distance in this ridge of mountains seem to be minerals. On the southern side of this ridge there are some hills of very fine mineral salt.

The river, according to the Indians, starts from the lake and flows in a westerly direction; it is probably very large and may be navigable. If it is, as they say, very long, it must be the Tizon River<sup>43</sup> discovered in the past by Don Juan de Oñate, first founder of New Mexico; from this place, they say that after traveling three hundred leagues to the northwest from the town of San Gabriel de Yungui (now called Chama) which was his first settlement, he

41. Valuable publicity ammunition for the Provo and Utah Valley Chamber of Commerce.

42. A wild hemp (hemp dogbane) growing in Utah and the neighboring territory, here mentioned by Escalante, was used by the Indians to make cords and rope. (On p. 83 Escalante speaks of a hemp net which one of the Indians used to catch hares and rabbits.) Native flaxes are common today in Utah and the western country.—H.S.A.

43. See Miera's map. He shows the Tizon River flowing westerly out of the west end of Great Salt Lake.—H.S.A.

turned back because he could not cross this river on account of its extreme width and depth. They told him about large pueblos of Indians who live on the other side of the river under a form of government.

In this valley of the Timpanogos (whose area from north to south covers about thirty leagues in length and about twelve leagues in width) there is the fortress. A town populated by one hundred Spanish families should be founded by the side of the fortress for the protection of the missions for converted Indians. Care should be taken that among the Spaniards there are experienced workers of all trades, and two master carpenters who know how to build boats and barges for navigation in the lake and for the transportation of whatever might be necessary. These boats would be used for fishing, for exploring the lake in its entirety and for investigating the tribes which live around it; and for discovering whether the aforementioned river is navigable and what kind of people inhabit its opposite shore.

In a short time there would grow up a very beautiful province which would be a protection for the nearest forts of the coast of California, and the province itself would benefit from the ports.

The second fortress, and the colony of families clustered around it would be conveniently located at the junction of the rivers Navajó and Animas, in the beautiful wide valleys which are seen along their borders and which are suitable for planting, and have excellent advantages for timber, kindling and good pasturage.

In these valleys remain the traces of an irrigation system and the ruins of many large ancient Indian pueblos and furnaces, which were apparently used to melt metals.

Farther down below these places where the Zaguapanas<sup>44</sup> river joins the one under the name of the Colorado river, it becomes unnavigable and flows encased between reddish rocks. The canyon is very deep and rugged so that not even the natives live in it beyond an area of more than five leagues on both sides, on account of its barrenness and rough and broken ground. This narrow deep canyon continues through the land of the Cosninas downstream as far as the land of the Gomajabas, Gatchidunes and Yumas.

This fort would serve as a stopping place for passage between New Mexico and the new settlements on the opposite coast of Monterey and also as a protection for the missions of the Cosninas, who for many years have been clamoring to be converted to our Holy Faith. It would also be well to locate there those Moquí pueblos which rebelled and took the lives of their missionaries in the general revolt of the year '80 [1680].

These Indians, which for many reasons which I do not mention, to avoid lengthening my narrative, should be brought down

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44. Zaguapanas—Green River (?). He describes the Grand Canyon.—H.S.A.

by force from their mountains. I must explain that, although they do not wage war, they are dangerous to New Mexico because they serve as a refuge for many renegades from the Christian pueblo.

These Indians are well organized politically, and are very much given to work. There is no idleness among them; and for this reason, although living in that barren land, they do not lack for food and clothing. Their houses are built of stones and mud and they are two or three stories high. They breed cattle, sheep, and horses and they weave good cotton and woolen cloth.

These people are located on the tops of three high and rugged mesas, where they are divided into six pueblos.

They would be forced down from the mountains without bloodshed; only under the threat of a troop of soldiers who would surround the two main hills—the Oraibe [Oraybe] and the Gualpe [Gualpi]—and in less than one week they would surrender, and be willing to accept any conditions exacted of them on account of the watering places they have at the foot of their hills. Once these six pueblos are established in locations near the town and fortress a rich and powerful province would be developed in a few years, united to New Mexico and bringing us nearer the new settlements.

The third fortress, also very conveniently located, and necessarily well provided with troops and people, would serve several objectives. It should be built at the junction of the rivers Gila and Colorado, or in some locality offering conveniences for a strong settlement.

It would also be a stopping place from Soñora for communication and commerce with the above-mentioned settlements; it would cover and protect the converted pueblos in its vicinity and it would stop the incursions of the enemy Apache Gilenos who live to the east. At the same time it would serve as a point of connection with the second fortress to the northeast, and from thence with New Mexico, facilitating communications with all other points.

The establishment of these three fortresses with their respective towns would bring about beneficial results, particularly the spreading of our Holy Faith and the extension of the dominion of your Majesty. His Divine Majesty would reward you in every way. New sources of wealth would be found, more than sufficient to repay the expenses of the Royal Treasury and strengthen your empire by their permanency, because these three forts would become three pillars which, with the greatest efficacy, would fortify by land the coast of California, which is the main point to be considered, and would include the three provinces and would even extend their influence up the coast.

For the maximum success of this plan, it is necessary to exert your efforts to remove the very serious obstacle presented by the enemy Apaches of Gila to the three provinces of New Mexico, Soñora and New Vizcaya, to occupy and work the mines they have



in their mountains, dispossessing them and sending them toward the east and to the land of the Zibolos, where the two wicked tribes—Comanches and Apaches—would wage war with each other to the death.

To succeed in this undertaking and obtain the best results, my advice, my Lord, is to apply the remedy to the source of the injury. It is certain that from the province of Gila which resembles a bag, as I said before, and is located between the three other provinces, the Apaches come to harass them causing great damage in lives and property. They suffer more intensely every day, and the siege is so strong and the consternation so great that the majority of the farms, the Spanish towns and the pueblos of Christian Indians on the frontiers have been ruined and deserted. The working of minerals has stopped, there are smaller revenues for the Royal Treasury and the cost in troops increases without any relief in sight. The forts were built in a line and between them the Indians enter and depart with their booty. What is the use of a new campaign every year when the enemy receives so little harm? In their mountains they keep their plunder and their families, and the troops, being entirely cavalrymen, cannot act or succeed in punishing them. The soldiers can only overrun their plains and valleys and then return to their barracks without succeeding in punishing them. After the raid, the enemies venture forth much prouder and more bellicose and they succeed in getting whatever they wish.

This province of Gila (I must repeat) is the source of the greatest harm and the worst obstacle to the obtaining of the conversion and repopulation at which we aim. I mean, my Lord, that it is here that the remedy should be applied, because all the injury is caused here. To achieve this result and attain our desires, we should establish in the center of the province three strong towns with the necessary troops, mounted infantry and foot soldiers, who in a relentless war may drive them from the province, and other foot troops from the forts would be used to protect and transport provisions.

The most convenient places to establish these troops and from them to wage a war of constant movement are: one of them is on the Gila River, in a valley at the exit of a canyon from which the river starts, named San Pedro de Alcantara; the second on the Mimbres River, close by the ridge of mountains called the Cobre Virgen; and the third on the North river opposite the place named San Pascual.

For this purpose, the additional expenses of the Royal Treasury would be for the settling of the families who would populate these places and the bringing in of three companies of militia of one hundred men each, out of the eight which are now enrolled at New Mexico and the judicial district of El Paso, drilling them in the methods of mounted infantry, without other arms or equip-



ment than rifle and bayonet, two horses and a mule. Their daily salary should be six reales for the duration of the war.

This is the expense which should be added to rid the province of its enemies.

Since there are four mobile companies of foot soldiers and two squadrons of dragoons outside the fortresses of the line, one of the companies with the two squadrons of dragoons should be drilled in the same methods of mounted infantry so that they would continually help in the military operations.

From the fortress of El Carrizal as far as that of the Altár—which are nine (counting the one of Buena Vista)—twenty men should be detached from each one and the war would be carried on in their front ranks, to protect those towns and to accompany the transport of the most essential provisions. These troops should be continually shifted.

After the Gila Province is cleared of its enemies the middle line of forts would be free of them. These forts are the ones already mentioned, from the one of El Carrizal as far as Yubas, and there would be fewer expenses for the Royal Treasury. Or the troops would be sent wherever necessary, or some retained wherever convenient. The other mobile companies could reinforce the other half of the line between the fort of San Cesareo as far as the San Juan Bautista to prevent the incursions of the plains Apaches who are Carlanes, Natafes, and Lipanes. Since the forts would guard different sections of the land they will not have any way of getting through to the other forts. The pass called Mapimi is the place for their incursions as far as Porras, near Durango and a large portion of the hills of New Vizcaya. Along this half line it seems convenient to remain on the defensive, because it has an extensive territory at its front. It does not offer any sort of inducement either spiritual or material. It is the land of the Zibolos and the wandering tribes living there.

There is little hope for their conversion because they are Comanche Indians and other tribes of Apaches and are very obstinate. Therefore, they will be reduced little by little.

I insist again, my Lord, that the welfare of this part of North America depends on the size of the population mentioned and requires the removal of the obstacle of the rebel tribes of the Gila province, which are and have been a barrier to the propagation of our Holy Faith, and the extension of the dominions of your Majesty, and the reason that thousands of souls in those docile tribes on the north and northwest of this rebel tribe have not been converted.

What ruins have not been caused by a false peace and unfulfilled promises on these frontiers! Your Majesty is our King and universal Father. Have pity on these, your poor vassals on the frontier who are suffering many misfortunes and much misery.

Do not mind whatever expenses may be incurred in increas-

ing the troops. We sow in the hope that God will return it to us a hundred fold. Do not delay in carrying out the proposal because our enemies continue to gain many advantages and many renegade captives who are the worst; and the greater the delay, the more difficult the remedy.

This, my Lord, is my opinion (with due regard for a better one). I am led by my great love and loyal affection for your Majesty and by the experiences of many years and by the services performed at my own expense and with my best will, to which I refer in my enclosed brief which I submit to your Majesty.

The Divine and All Powerful Majesty many times uses insignificant tools to make manifest His Power and Greatness. I consider myself one of these tools. The intensity of my love for your Majesty, for the spread of our Holy Faith and for the extension of your Royal dominions, has impelled me to show my deep wishes for greatest success by writing this letter to your Majesty; and also to promise, as I do (life and health permitting me) that at the end of three years, from the first day I arrive in the locality of Mimbres with the soldiers I have already mentioned, to bring about peace and order in that province, organize other towns, and discover and exploit at least one mine of gold, silver and copper. With my best wishes and a firm hope in the One Who is all Powerful, my promises will be fulfilled.

It is my intention, my Lord, that as soon as the Commanding general in Chief, Don Teodore de la Crois,<sup>45</sup> whom your Majesty is sending us as governor in your Royal name, arrives, to present him with a brief of this letter for his administration which I hope the All Powerful One will make successful in every way.

I beg and pray the Lord, humbly and on my knees, to preserve the most important life of your Majesty in perfect health for many years with the greatest happiness, as do all your subjects and vassals.

San Felipe el Real de Chiguagua, October 26, 1777.

My Lord, your servant and vassal respectfully remains at the service of Your most Catholic Majesty.

BERNARDO DE MIERA  
y Pacheco

(A brief of the career and family history of Miera follows, as written by himself.—Ed.)

*Sacred Royal Catholic Majesty—Lord:*

Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, native of the mountains of Burgos, in the Kingdom of Castile, humbly and with the great-

<sup>45</sup>. Don Teodoro de Crois was Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain (Texas, Coahuila, New Mexico, New Vizcaya, Soñora and a part of California). New Mexico was the buffer territory between the savage Indian tribes and the northern frontier of New Spain. Apaches struck the Spanish settlements from the West to the South. The Utes and the Navajós descended on them from the North and the West. The Comanches attacked them from all sides.—H.S.A.

est respect sets down for your Majesty: that in the year 1743, he established his domicile in the royal fortress and town of El Paso del Río del Norte from whence he conducted five campaigns against the enemy Apaches and the Zumas, their allies. One of the campaigns, declared a General Campaign by mandate of the Viceroy Conde Revilla-Gigedo, who ordered that the expedition be carried out against the Apaches of Gila and a map made of all the land we crossed. For that purpose the Commandant of the expedition accorded to Don Bernardo de Miera the title of engineer and captain of militia of El Paso, since he had sketched the map and itinerary of the entire province, obediently carrying out in that way the order from the Commandant. Two years later Don Bernardo was ordered by the Viceroy to accompany the Captain Commandant Don Alonso Rubin de Zolis to make a survey of the land from El Paso on both banks of the Norte River as far as the junction of the rivers, and also of the rivers Conchos and Chigua and their surroundings. To these Don Bernardo gave the names by which they are known today. In these surveys and transactions he spent two months, and although the Viceroy ordered that he be paid daily eight pesos for his expenses, he did not accept the wages, having decided to serve Your Majesty at his own expense.

Afterward he went with his family to the town of Santa Fé at the beginning of the administration of Don Francisco Marin del Valle, who gave him the title of Alcalde and Military Captain of the frontier of Pecos and Galisteo, where, during the time of his commission, he carried out three campaigns against the enemy Comanches and in addition drew the map of the section of the land he explored in those vast territories.

Afterward the governor ordered him to go to the province of Moquí to verify the talk of some Indians of the Tegua tribe who came to say that some Tano Indians begged help from the Spaniards in order to become Christians. This tribe lives in the rocky mountains of Gualpe. Don Bernardo also drew the map of that province and that of Navajó, setting down much information acquired from the friendly tribe of the Cosninas who had come to trade with the Moquinos. All that information is to be found in the itinerary and details contained in the enclosed map which were sent to the Military Headquarters when the Marquis de los Amarillos was in command.

Don Bernardo also drew the general map of all these interior provinces included in the Bishopric of Durango which was sent to your Majesty by the Bishop Don Pedro Tamarón who, in his turn, handed it to Don Nicolas de la Fora, captain of engineers, who came with the Marquis de Rubi. For four years Don Bernardo also held the post of Alcalde and Military Captain of the towns of Gueres and their judicial districts during the administration of Don Tomas Velez; and finally led by the love and desire of placing



himself at the service of your Majesty and of extending our Holy Faith, he agreed with the two Franciscan monks, Fray Atanasio Dominguez, at present inspector and custodian, and Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, to carry out the exploration of the lands in the northwest of New Mexico, from whence they started in the beginning of July, 1776, in the company of seven other men, all of them mentioned in the itinerary. They advanced as far as 42 degrees latitude in that course, making a short excursion in the direction of the coast of Monterey which they did not reach for reasons explained in the itinerary. They suffered great discomforts and marched through many lands at the risk of their lives. The expedition lasted more than five months, and all that is written in the aforementioned journal which with the geographical map of all the explored lands was duly forwarded to your Majesty.

Don Bernardo also mentions and explains the services of his father Don Luis de Miera who raised a squadron of cavalry at his own expense, and, under the orders of the Conde de Aguilar, served our King and Lord Don Philip the Fifth (may his soul be in Paradise) at the beginning of his reign.

He also mentions the services of his grandfather, Don Antonio Pacheco, who was governor of Novara and colonel of the tercio [regiment of infantry] of Lombardy, and died shedding his blood at the siege of Mantua, and in that war held the rank of lieutenant-general, adjunct to the House of Bourbon.

Don Bernardo may mention that he is a son and grandson of the war on both sides of the family and that he has inherited the love for the service of Your Majesty because he passed the best part of his youth in the service of Your Majesty without ever receiving any recompense, but, on the contrary, always at his own expense.

Therefore:

Most respectfully he begs and supplicates Your Majesty to order one of the captaincies to be created to be given to him, or to appoint him to the command of the Militia of New Mexico with a salary for his maintenance, or in any other capacity Your Majesty may consider suited to him as his desire is to die in the service of Your Majesty.

Also, he begs of Your Majesty a promotion to an official rank for his son Don Anacleto who has already served Your Majesty with all the honor of knowing how to obey for thirteen years: three in the fortress of Guapiguilla and ten in the fort of Santa Fé, as it is declared in the letter of certification from the governor.

For all of which the favor of Your Majesty is respectfully requested.

BERNARDO DE MIERA Y PACHECO  
Your most humble servant.







MAP  
— of the —  
UNITED STATES  
TERRITORY OF OREGON

West of the Rocky Mountains  
Exhibiting the various Trading Depots or Posts  
occupied by the British Hudson Bay Company con-  
nected with the Western and northwestern Fur Trade.  
ENGRAVED EXPRESSLY FOR  
W. ROBERTSON'S HISTORY.

OREGON.  
WASHINGTON D.C.  
1846.

Wyndham Robertson's 1846 map, showing Youta or Great Salt Lake and "A Fur Co.'s Depot," near the east shore of Youta Lake. Robertson miscalls the Ogden River the "Weaver R." and the Weber River he designates "Platte R."

## APPENDIX

From a study of the sources, it would appear that General William H. Ashley and his party of trappers in 1825, after crossing the Continental Divide via the South Pass, went down the Green River in search of beaver, using "bull" boats (canoes) made of buffalo hides.

After a difficult and hazardous passage through the rapids and falls of Red Canyon,\* where they faced starvation, they arrived at Brown's Hole, a wide, fertile valley of the Green River, and here they stopped to rest and recuperate. They then continued down Green River between massive canyon walls, over Disaster Falls, through Lodore Canyon, Hell's Half Mile, Whirlpool Canyon and Split Mountain Rapids, by dangerous navigation all the way, often facing sudden death. After descending the Green River some fifty miles below where the "Tewinty River" [Uintah]\*\* enters it, Ashley returned up the Green River to the mouth of the "Tewinty River" and went up the valley and reached the hospitable country now known as Ashley Valley, Utah. He ascended the "Tewinty River" to its extreme sources, distant from its mouth about seventy miles, etc. (Dale, p. 152)

At some point in the Uintah country, in the northeast corner of Utah, General Ashley and his party chanced to meet Étienne Provost\*\*\* and his partner, Francois Leclerc, and their French trappers, who had journeyed into the Yuta country from Taos, New Mexico. Provost provided Ashley and his men with much needed provisions and mounts. Provost accompanied and guided Ashley thence westward up the "Tewinty River" toward Kamas Prairie.

Their route was by way of the ancient Indian trail which followed up along the "Tewinty River" and its headwaters to the crest of the Uintah mountain range, the trail then followed the divide, going westerly, where it branched in various places, one well traveled branch following down the north slope of the Uintah range by way of Smith's Fork of the Green River, and another following down along the East Fork of the Bear River (see Utah-

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\*In Red Canyon, where great boulders falling into the Green River from high precipitous cliffs, which formed its left bank, had dammed the river, Frederick Dellenbaugh in 1871 found the name: "Ashley 1825" in black letters under a slight projection of one of these large boulders situated on the left bank of the river. Dellenbaugh made a sketch of this inscription. (See Dellenbaugh, F. S., *A Canyon Voyage* [p. 28], N. Y., 1908; also Dellenbaugh, F. S., *Breaking the Wilderness* [p. 240], N. Y., 1905.)—H.S.A.

\*\*Meaning of "Uintah": Mr. William R. Palmer of Cedar City, Utah, an authority on the Indians of the Great Basin, gives me the following information:

The Ute Indians call the long-leaved pine "Uint" and the word "Uint-ah" means a country of pines of the "Uint" variety.

"Winty" and "Tewinty" are evidently trapper expressions for "Uintah."—H.S.A.

\*\*\*Beckwourth states (*The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*. Edited by T. D. Bonner, N. Y., 1856, pp. 71-73) that Ashley met Provost after coming out of the canyons, and that after being recruited on Provost's provisions and with Provost's horses, Ashley and his men "left the river and proceeded in a northwesterly direction, . . . until we arrived at the Great Salt Lake."

Chittenden says: (*The American Fur Trade*. N. Y. 1902., p. 275) "Being now to the south of the Uintah mountains, etc." Ashley fell in with Provost, Chittenden thinks by prearrangement.—H.S.A.

Wyoming map facing p. 44, Vol. 9, Numbers 1 and 2, Utah Historical Quarterly), while still another trail wound along the headwaters of the Weber River until it reached Kamas Prairie (Kamas Valley). Ashley says: "I proceeded down the waters of the Beaunaventura about 60 miles bordered with a growth of willow almost impenetrable." Dale, p. 152 (This apparently referred to his trip from the Ashley Valley up the "Tewinty" and over the Uintah range and then along the "Beaunaventura" until he reached Kamas Prairie.) From Kamas Prairie, Ashley apparently proceeded along the Weber River to Echo and thence easterly to the 1825 rendezvous on Henry's Fork of the Green River.

There was considerable bewilderment and befuddlement among early trappers and map makers as to the difference between the Great Salt Lake and Lake Timpanogos. One was often mistaken for the other, and some believed that Great Salt Lake and Timpanogos or Yuta Lake were one and the same body of water. (The early Spaniards designated Great Salt Lake and Lake Timpanogos as Lake Teguaya.)

Great Salt Lake was called by various names: Lake Timpanogos, Great Salt Lake, Grand Salt Lake, Big Salt Lake, Weaver's Lake, Laguna Salado, the Big Lake, Lake Buenaventura, Lake Bonneville.

Yuta or Youta Lake was also known as Lake Timpanogos, Little Uta Lake, Eutaw Lake, Lac Salado, and for a short period possibly as Ashley Lake.

Bear Lake was also known to the trappers as Little Lake, Little Snake Lake and Sweet Lake.

H. H. Bancroft (*History of Utah*) says (p. 21): "Wm. H. Ashley, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, at the head of one hundred and twenty men and a train of well packed horses, came from St. Louis, through the South Pass and down by Great Salt Lake to Lake Utah (1825). There he built a fort\*, and two years later (1827) brought from St. Louis a six-pounder which thereafter graced its court." Bancroft in his footnotes quotes *Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (T. D. Bonner); also, *Jedediah Smith*, noting that Smith in 1826 calls the lake Utah, and the stream flowing into it from the south, Ashley River. (Smith's letter of July 17, 1827, published in *Missouri Republican*, October 11, 1827.)

It is puzzling that Ashley makes no mention of Lake Ashley, Fort Ashley or Ashley's River in his narrative. However, it is possible that he may have made note of these in one of his undiscovered diaries, or refrained from modesty.

It seems strange that Ashley would not mention Provost in his journal, but his journal does not appear to be complete, and

\*Bancroft (along with Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*) tells of this fort and Bancroft says that the Ashley six-pounder was carried as far as where he places this fort.—H.S.A.



a part of it is written in a different hand from that of Ashley\*. Then, too, there was considerable rivalry, jealousy, suspicion and feuding between trappers, and this might account for Ashley's failure to mention his meeting with Provost. (Provost\*\* may have resented Ashley's intrusion in that part of the Beaver country which Provost claimed as his own.) Ashley was known to have a very violent temper. At any rate, Ashley does relate: "I purchased a few horses of the Eutaus [whom he met on his way back from a trip down the Green River (which he had descended to a point about fifty miles below the mouth of the Tewinty River), returning to Tewinty River], and ascended to its extreme sources, etc." (Dale, p. 152)

Jedediah S. Smith in August, 1826, gave the name of Ashley River, in honor of General Ashley, to the stream now known as Sevier River (*Jedediah S. Smith*, MS Sullivan, N. Y., 1936, pp. 70-71).

Gallatin, Albert: *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States*, etc., says:

"General Ashley's own explorations extend as far south as another small lake, to which his name has been given, and which is situated about eighty miles south of the southeastern extremity of Lake Timpanogo (apparently the present Sevier Lake). It is also fed by a river (present Sevier River) coming from the mountains in the southeast and has no outlet." (At that period Sevier Lake appears to have been a much larger body of water than it is at the present time, but it never was a fresh water lake, nor had it the qualifications to make it desirable for a rendezvous.—H.S.A.)

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\*Dale in his footnote (p. 146) states: "From this point, Ashley's narrative seems to be a summary of his journal, rather than a series of extracts quoted verbatim. Beginning with the words, 'to which place,' the writing continues in a different hand."

\*\*Etienne Provost,\*\*\* (the author vouches for this spelling, confirmed by an assurance from Stella M. Drumm, Librarian, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri) the famous trapper, is said to have come into the present Utah Valley as early as about 1823-24. Provost's name is now attached to a river, a valley, and a city in Utah.

On early U. S. Government maps the present-day Provo River is designated as Timpanogos River.

From records (L. D. S. Journal History) of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints we find that the Mormons called the stream "Provo River" as early as September 15, 1849, (in honor of Etienne Provost). The Mormon pioneers were familiar with the activities of early trappers, among others those of Etienne Provost, in Utah Valley and in eastern Utah. Porter Rockwell was a great admirer of Provost and according to Rockwell's stories (told by him to Samuel H. Auerbach), Provost was the greatest of all the trappers. Rockwell may well have influenced the Mormons somewhat in naming the river and the city in honor of Provost.

In the early spring of 1849 the brethren, called by the First Presidency of the Church to colonize Utah Valley, built a fort near the Provo River, which they named "Fort Utah."

On September 15, 1849, Thomas Bullock gives an account of a journey of President Brigham Young and several of the brethren to the settlement in Utah Valley (Fort Utah) and mentions that they crossed Provo River.

On March 23, 1850, President Young counselled that a city eastward from Fort Utah should be laid out and called "Provo." On February 6, 1851, an act by the general assembly incorporating "Provo City" was approved. The City of Provo was laid out eastward and higher up on the Provo River than Fort Utah.

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\*\*\*See "Old Trails, Old Forts, Old Trappers and Traders," by Herbert S. Auerbach, *Utah Quarterly*, January, 1941. Vol. 9. (p. 57-58). In the "Pioneer Recollections of Salt Lake City, Utah" (MSS.) of Samuel H. Auerbach he tells of information relating to Etienne Provost given him by Porter Rockwell.

Warren Angus Ferris in *Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Publ. by Rocky Mountain Book Shop, Salt Lake City. Annotated by J. Cecil Alter.) says (p. 214): "I observed during our stay on the Savarah (this appears to be merely a corruption for Sevier) etc. . . ."

"On the nineteenth (Autumn, 1834), we continued northward over a gently ascending plain and encamped on a small stream that flows into the Eutaw Lake." (At this time he was on his way to the "Chanion of White River," in eastern Utah and western Colorado, which joins the Green River below Ouray, Utah. Ferris was in the Rocky Mountain country from 1830 to 1835.)

Ferris, Warren Angus, *Life in the Rocky Mountains* (p. 222):

"The season having become far advanced, we pitched quarters in a large grove of aspen trees, at the brink of an excellent spring that supplied us with the purest water, and resolved to pass the winter here . . . ."

J. Cecil Alter in his annotation at this point says: "Ferris' winter encampment, 1834-35, was clearly on Ashley Creek [Ashley Fork], above Dry Fork Junction, six or eight miles northwest of Vernal, in northeastern Utah, and twenty miles by Indian trail east-northeast of Fort Robidoux . . . ."

Professor Dale concludes (*Ashley-Smith Explorations*, p. 168) that Ashley's trip in 1826 was his first and only visit to the Great Salt Lake.

In his footnote 332 (p. 168) Dale cites: Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, Vol. 1, 279, Vol. III, 973. He (Ashley) is said to have built a fort on or near the shores of Utah Lake. Chittenden places the erection of this fort in 1825.

T. C. Elliott (*Peter Skene Ogden Journals*, Oreg. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, Vol. XI, 365) suggests that he built a post on Sevier Lake. That a fort was constructed somewhere in the vicinity of Great Salt Lake is certain, but it was probably built by Ashley's men during the winter of 1825-1826 or, more probably, in 1826, by Ashley's successors, who purchased through him a four-pound cannon, which was dragged out the next year. The post seems to have been located near the Great Salt Lake itself, rather than on Utah Lake. Peter Skene Ogden refers to the American post at "Salt Lake" in 1827 and 1828. Ogden, P. S., *Journal*, Oreg. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, Vol. XI, 365, 368, 369. "Tullock, the American, who failed to get through the snow to Salt Lake, tried to engage an Indian to carry letters to the American deposit at Salt Lake"—*Idem*, Vol. XI, 372. It was from Great Salt Lake, furthermore, that Smith set out on his expedition to the southwest in August, 1826. MS. draft of a letter of W. H. Ashley, December 24, 1828, Missouri Hist. Soc., *Ashley MSS.*

Prof. Dale (*Ashley-Smith Explorations*, p. 166):

" . . . William Sublette, who seems to have been in charge, ordered the men (Ashley's parties) to remove to Great Salt Lake. They had, accordingly, moved to the mouth of Weber River, probably near the site of the present city of Ogden, where they established themselves for the winter (1825-26), numbering, with their Indian comrades, six to seven hundred souls."

In *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, edited by T. D. Bonner (N. Y., 1856), Beckwourth tells of making a trip to the western country to deliver a message to William Sublette from General Ashley, who was then in St. Louis. The place of rendezvous with Sublette was Cache Valley, but Beckwourth's story has it that Sublette gave orders for all to remove to Salt Lake, which "was but a few miles distant," where they were to establish winter quarters. According to Beckwourth, they then moved to the mouth of "Weaver's Fork" and established a community consisting of about six or seven hundred people, both Indians and whites. He mentioned that this encampment was made in the winter of 1823. The "Weaver's Fork" to which Beckwourth refers is the present Weber River.

Beckwourth says that Sublette then set out for St. Louis, leaving instructions for the camp to be returned to Cache Valley in the spring. After moving the camp, the trappers were to proceed to "Weaver's Lake," where they would be joined by Sublette upon his return. The following spring (1824), [Beckwourth erred. The actual date was 1826.] according to Beckwourth, the rendezvous was kept at "Weaver's Lake," and Sublette was accompanied by General Ashley, bringing three hundred pack mules. "Weaver's Lake" was another name for Great Salt Lake.

J. Cecil Alter in his *James Bridger* quotes J. Beckwourth as saying that Ashley stayed in the Salt Lake rendezvous (Ogden) and traded beavers while the rest of them fought Indians (pp. 74-77).

Mr. Alter thinks that the Salt Lake rendezvous might very well have had applied to it the name "Ashley's Fort," and that Utah Lake might have been designated as "Ashley's Lake" by some of the trappers of General Ashley. It was Ashley himself who referred to the Grand Lake. (Dale, p. 158)

A fort, or a fur depot, in the language of the mountain men, was usually supposed to be a place protected by an enclosure of wooden pickets from about six to fourteen inches thick and from about ten to twenty feet high, or where timber was scarce, by adobe or stone walls, and these forts usually served as winter quarters for the trappers and traders.

These many years I have been trying to locate Ashley's Lake and Ashley's Fort. Was Ashley's Lake another name for Great

Salt Lake, or Utah Lake, or possibly Sevier Lake? The authorities are at variance. Could it be that Ashley's Lake was Utah Lake and that Ashley's Fort was located near the present site of Ogden (where in 1826 Ashley held his rendezvous), both the lake and the fort having been so named by some of Ashley's men, in honor of General Ashley? The preponderance of evidence points in that direction and I think, with J. Cecil Alter, that Ashley's Lake was Utah Lake and that Ashley's Fort was at a point near the present site of the city of Ogden, Utah. Possibly the actual site of the subsequent Goodyear\* cabin.—H.S.A.

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\*On June 6th, 1848, Captain James Brown, of the Mormon Battalion, bought from Miles M. Goodyear, the Indian trader, for \$3,000.00, a large tract of land held by Goodyear by virtue of a Spanish grant. This land claim commenced at the north of Weber Canyon and followed the base of the mountains north to the Hot Springs, thence west to the Great Salt Lake, thence south along the shore line of Great Salt Lake to the point opposite Weber Canyon, thence east to the place of beginning.

Captain Brown built several houses and sheds near the Goodyear log cabin and then erected around the yard containing these buildings a palisade of high wooden posts. This place was known for some time as Captain Brown's Settlement.—H.S.A.



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